

## INTERNATIONAL

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PARIS, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1981

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## UN Council In Session On Golan

## U.S. Would Back Limited Rebuke

From Agency Dispatches  
UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — The UN Security Council called an emergency session Wednesday at Syria's request to consider action against Israel for its sudden annexation of the Golan Heights.

In Washington, officials said the United States would support a condemnation of Israel if it was not "too shrill" and if it did not call for sanctions against the Jewish state.

The U.S. representative to the UN, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, and aides discussed the proposed UN resolution Tuesday with Arab nations. They were seeking a formula to permit the United States to join the expected near-unanimous condemnation of the Israeli action.

Syria asked the council to declare Monday's decision by the Israeli parliament "null and void" and give Israel one week to rescind it. If Israel does not meet the deadline, the Syrians demanded, the council should impose sanctions against the Jewish state.

"Not Annexation"

Israeli officials contended that the legislation — pushed through the Knesset, Israel's parliament, in six hours by Prime Minister Menachem Begin — was not outright annexation because it stopped short of applying Israeli sovereignty to the region it captured from Syria in the 1967 war.

If the United States votes to condemn its ally, it would be the second such move in six months. On June 19, the United States joined in a unanimous Security Council resolution condemning Israel — without sanctions — for its June 7 attack on Iraq's Osirak nuclear reactor.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger said Tuesday that Israel's move was "clearly a violation of the United Nations [Middle East] resolutions and therefore the Camp David agreement."

But Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said Wednesday in a live television interview from Jerusalem that the annexation had nothing to do with the Camp David agreements and said it would not disturb the peace process.

"You know, the Golan Heights were never mentioned even in the Camp David accords," he said.

Asked what the Reagan administration might do, Mr. Weinberger said, "Our options are the same as they are when any other country violates international law," he said. "We can advise them and the world that we think they've acted in a way that we think is inimical to world peace and cannot have our support. On the contrary, it has our strong objection."

Mr. Weinberger held open the possibility that the United States may suspend shipment of military equipment to Israel, much as was done after the bombing of the Iraqi reactor. But he added: "I don't think there has been real consideration of it yet."

U.S.-Israel consultations on the security cooperation agreement signed in Washington recently are scheduled to start next month, but a Pentagon spokesman, Henry Catto, said Tuesday that he had "heard nothing that would indicate that any of the meetings would be suspended or canceled."

Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron met Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. Tuesday to discuss the annexation and said later Mr. Haig had given no sign the United States was considering holding up arms deliveries because of it.

## Analysts' View

As a practical matter, analysts with long experience in the Middle East believe, there is little the United States is likely to do that will have serious impact on U.S.-Israel relations.

Asked about the Haig-Evron meeting and President Reagan's reported anger over the annexation, Mr. Shamir said, "I am sorry about this. We will try to convince the secretary and other representatives of the administration that our step was justified and necessary. It will not disturb the peace process, and I don't think it is an unfriendly step toward our friends in the United States."

Asked what he had meant by an earlier statement that Israel would not tolerate a war of attrition, Mr. Shamir said, "I think there will be quiet in the Golan Heights as there is now. But if at any time the Syrians do anything against us, we will take the necessary measures, of course."

Asked whether Israel would abide by a 1974 cease-fire agreement with Syria, Mr. Shamir replied, "Of course. We will never take any military action that is not necessary. For us, it [the cease-fire] is valid. We are not interested in waging war, not with Syria and not with anybody else."



Outside Solidarity's offices in Warsaw, a man kissed the ground and a woman fell to her knees in reaction to a speech Sunday by Archbishop Jozef Glemp urging Poles to avoid bloodshed in the crisis caused by the army takeover. The picture was made in New York from TV news film.



Employees at a shipyard in Gdansk in northern Poland stood around idly after they joined a strike on Monday following the military takeover. Some reports later said soldiers had succeeded in breaking up shipyard strikes. The picture was made from a television monitor in New York.



Armored personnel carriers and security jeeps held positions in front of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw on Tuesday. Reports reaching Western capitals Wednesday said the heavy army and police presence appeared to be "thinning out" and that most of the city was quiet.

## UN's Golan Heights Peace Force Sees No Change in 1974 Accord

By William Claiborne  
*Washington Post Service*

JERUSALEM — Despite Israel's annexation of the Golan Heights, UN peacekeeping forces will subject Israeli Army deployments to regular UN inspections and will consider any Israeli attempt to interfere a violation of the 1974 disengagement agreement, UN sources said Wednesday.

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either side of it, stretching west into the Israeli-occupied area and east into territory that Syria managed to hold at the end of the 1973 war, are two "limited forces zones" of 6 and 9 miles each in which

In the Golan Heights, Druze allegiance is divided following annexation by Israel. Page 3.

numbers and sizes of weapons are restricted.

Since Israel has, in effect, asserted its sovereignty over the 15-mile-wide limited forces zone on the Israeli-occupied side of the demilitarized zone, questions have arisen about how the government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin will treat the newly annexed area.

Israeli officials said that the issue is currently under study, but they stressed that the annexation — or "application of Israeli law," as they prefer to call it — has not

"as of right now" changed anything with respect to the UN rights in the limited forces zones.

"We don't know of any plan for a change. It is an international commitment of the government, and the government respects it," a government official said. The official said that it is too early to tell what position will be taken when the UN mandate for peacekeeping in the Golan Heights comes up for renewal next year.

However, disputes between the UN peacekeeping forces in the region and the Israeli government, particularly over southern Lebanon, are not uncommon, and UN officials said that they would be watching the situation closely.

Meanwhile, Israeli Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said Wednesday that despite the Syrian Cabinet's declaration that the cease-fire has been "canceled" by the annexation, Israel still regards it as valid.

In addition, Mr. Haile criticized European allies of the United

## Polish Troops Said to Crush Warsaw Worker Resistance

From Agency Dispatches

LONDON — Polish troops have gained full control of Warsaw after flushing out striking workers from key centers of resistance, diplomatic sources said Wednesday.

Quoting reports from what they described as highly reliable observers, the sources said the army had apparently crushed the main opposition forces that had been holding out since martial law was imposed Sunday.

"This was done very efficiently and, as far as can be seen, without bloodshed," one of the sources said.

In Paris, however, French television Wednesday night quoted Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy as saying nine persons had been killed and 45,000 arrested since Sunday.

According to the television report, Mr. Mauroy gave the figures to Edmond Maire, leader of the Socialist-oriented CFDT trade union group.

The latest reports reaching Western capitals indicated the sit-

uation in Warsaw was stable and calm Wednesday.

Official reports acknowledged, however, that strikes were continuing in the important mining district of Silesia.

And in Bonn, Western diplo-

mats said reports from the Polish provinces suggested that some sup-

porters of the Solidarity trade union movement were still resisting outside of Warsaw.

In Rome, Foreign Minister Elio Colombo of Italy, citing reports from the Italian Embassy in Warsaw, told reporters after a Cabinet meeting that Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, is under house arrest outside Warsaw.

A Solidarity official, meanwhile, urged Western governments Wednesday to make strong protests about developments in Poland instead of making half-hearted statements and warned that

A well-informed Polish source who arrived in Vienna by train reported that students were staging sit-ins at Warsaw's Church of the Holy Cross and the Church of Saint Anna.

Reports reaching other Western capitals said the heavy army and police presence that began Sunday appeared to be "thinning out," Western sources said.

"The stand taken so far by Western governments is rather half-hearted and not correct," said Stefan Trzciński, deputy information officer of Solidarity in Warsaw.

I appeal to all men of good will to ask their governments to put pressure on the Polish government to repeal immediately the martial law," Mr. Trzciński said at a news conference.

The main operation against Solidarity holdouts in the capital was apparently completed Tuesday.

The diplomatic sources said their informants discounted rumors that Soviet reinforcements had landed overnight. A Soviet

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 3)



Pope John Paul II appealing on Wednesday at the Vatican for talks to resume in Poland.

## Pope, in Strongest Statement Yet, Calls for Return to Polish Renewal

By Henry Tanner  
*New York Times Service*

ROME — Pope John Paul II, in his strongest statement yet about the army's takeover in his homeland, asked the opposing parties in Poland on Wednesday to return to the road of renewal and negotiation.

He said the Poles, "as a nation, have the right to live their own life and to resolve their own domestic problems in the spirit of their own convictions and in harmony with their own culture and national traditions."

He added: "These problems ... cannot be resolved by the use of violence. Hence my appeal and my request: It is necessary to resume the road of renewal which was built by the method of dialogue and with respect for the rights of every man and every citizen. This road will not be easy, for obvious reasons, but it is not impossible."

"The strength and authority" of

a government "find their expression in such a dialogue and not in the use of violence," the pope added.

He spoke in Polish, addressing a tightly packed group of Polish men and women who stood in the midst of about 5,000 pilgrims from other nations attending his regular Wednesday audience.

He read from a prepared text, contrary to his habit, then repeated the message in Italian, again reading from a text. He was interrupted several times by applause.

Even though most telephone and teletype communications between Poland and other countries have been interrupted, Vatican sources have said that the pontiff has been in contact with Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Polish primate.

The church is seeking to restore dialogue between the military authorities that have taken over the country and the leadership of Solidarity, the independent labor union. It is also trying to preserve as

many as possible of the civil liberties that Polish citizens have won since the creation of Solidarity.

The pope, in Wednesday's statement, pointedly repeated a passage of an address in which Archbishop Glemp described the state of siege proclaimed on Sunday, as "the beginning of the road to violence" and "a violation of fundamental human rights [which] brought with it contempt for human dignity, arrests of innocent people and the humiliation of men of culture and the strength of their traditions."

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the reputation for propaganda that it picked up in the 1950s and 1960s.

Although Radio Free Europe is now directly controlled by the Board for International Broadcasting, an agency appointed by the president, it was partially funded by the Central Intelligence Agency for more than two decades.

Its most troubled period came in 1956, when it was accused of egging on the rebels opposing the Communist government of Hungary by offering them vague promises of Western military assistance. A West German parliamentary committee, empowered because the Radio Free Europe studios are in Munich, found later that the station had behaved responsibly; nevertheless, some members of its Hungarian staff were dismissed.

"We're a model of objectivity," says the Polish service director, Zygmunt Michalowski, a man whose office wall bears a plaque saying "It's Exciting to Be Polish."

Mr. Michalowski, a man who likes a bit of drama, slept in the office Sunday when the state of emergency was announced. The Polish service, which normally broadcasts 18 hours a day, was increased temporarily to a round-the-clock schedule, and transmitters were added so that it could broadcast on one medium-wave and 10 shortwave frequencies.

Normally, Radio Free Europe can provide its listeners in Poland with reports on events

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

## New Moment of Truth for Radio Free Europe

## U.S. Organization Believes It Is Poland's Best Source for News

By John Vinocur  
*New York Times Service*

MUNICH — It was 5 p.m., the time of day when Radio Free Europe broadcasters know they are being heard, the hour when they have what they call "twilight immunity" — atmospheric conditions that make their signal next to impossible to jam.

In the studio broadcasting to Poland, the news was about a U.S. State Department announcement confessing uncertainty about what was going on in the country, statements from Polish ambassadors in Paris and Madrid, and a report from a French television correspondent, now in the West, who had a first-hand account of the situation in Poland.

There were also bits and pieces quoting Warsaw Radio and a weather report: cold in Gdansk and the threat of snow in Krakow.

By Radio Free Europe's estimates — based, executives say, on surveys made by previous Polish governments — anywhere from 60 percent to 90 percent of the Polish population was listening to the news report. The 80 or so people who run the station's Polish-language service in Munich, with funds from the United States, feel they are offering Poles their most basic, irreplaceable source of information during the crisis.

This was not the opinion of Tass, the Soviet press agency, which took out after Radio Free Europe on Tuesday, following the traditional

Soviet line that the station is a continuing source of East-West tension, a Cold War relic of shameful irresponsibility and fascist tones.

"The Washington administration," Tass said, "has been using at full capacity the subversive Free Europe and Radio Liberty stations under its control, which directly instigate Polish citizens to resist, even violently, the measures which are being taken by the Military Council for National Salvation to normalize the situation."

When the Tass report came over a teleprinter in the dingy newsroom here, there was mostly amusement. Rather than fomenting rebellion in Poland, an editor said, there were problems just filling out the 15-minute hourly newscasts. The inability of correspondents in Warsaw to file their reports, in particular those of the major Western news agencies that supply the bulk of Radio Free Europe's source material, meant that the station was struggling to something to its listeners that they had heard every hour for the last six.

Much that was available seemed too sketchy, too vague, said James Edwards, an editor in charge of the central newsroom. Travelers reaching Scandinavia had tales of strikes and resistance, but they did not get on the air here: not enough substance and no corroboration.

To a visitor in the newsroom and in the offices of the station's Polish service, Radio Free Europe appears almost obsessed with changing

States as being "much too insouciant and cavalier about the growing military threat in the Gorbachev."

To help combat the leftist insurgency in El Salvador, Mr. Ide said, the United States will begin two training programs "as early as possible in 1982."

He told the subcommittee that the programs were recommended by a team sent to El Salvador in September "to assist the Salvadorean in developing a national military strategy."

The official candidates would be trained at Fort Benning, Ga., or at the training center that the United States runs in Panama, the officials said.

The Pentagon officials said the training, which is tentatively scheduled to start the second week of January, would be less expensive than shipping a U.S. training team to El Salvador and building installations there. It also would be politically wiser, they said, because it is less likely to arouse criticism in Latin America than doing the training there.

Mr. Ide also discussed the ad-

# Peking and Tokyo Sign an Agreement On Huge Aid Plan

By Henry Scott Stokes  
*New York Times Service*

TOKYO — Japan and China formally signed a \$1.37-billion agreement Wednesday on Japanese financial aid for Chinese industrial projects.

The two nations also reached agreement on a \$275-million state credit in yen to China by Japan, "the largest yen credit ever extended to a foreign government," according to a Japanese Foreign Ministry spokesman. Japan has announced a program to cut its trade surplus with major trading partners. Page 9.

Earlier this year, China suddenly announced the cancellation of most Japanese-financed industrial projects in China, but there has been speculation here that this was largely a tactic to get money or easier terms and at lower interest rates. This is what has now been promised.

Foreign Minister Yoshiro Sakuruchi of Japan and Deputy Premier Gu Mu of China also confirmed that there would be an exchange of visits by leaders of the two nations next year.

Premier Zhao Ziyang will come to Tokyo next summer, and Premier Zenko Suzuki will visit Peking next autumn for celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

## Site Criticized

A Foreign Ministry official said that the credit agreement was concluded last summer by Deputy Premier Deng Xiaoping of China and Japanese officials and that the signing "was not much more than a formality."

The funds will cover the first stage of construction of a steel mill

at Baoshan near Shanghai by Nippon Steel Corp., due for completion by 1985, and a petrochemical complex, the official said.

The Baoshan project is seen here as a symbol of Chinese and Japanese industrial cooperation. The site chosen for the project has been criticized by some Japanese authorities, but officials have defended the decision.

"Baoshan should be finished, at least the first stage, by 1985 as scheduled," said an official who asked that he not be named. Nippon Steel, the main contractor and supervisor, says that the site problem was solved and that the project has good prospects.

"One problem that was raised by critics is that sand carried by the Yangtze River will silt up the site and prevent access by cargo ships," he said. "but that's only a hazard over 100 years or so, experts told us. In the short run, it's not a real issue."

## Commodity Credits

The 300-billion-yen aid package includes 130 billion yen in commodity credits, another 100 billion yen in suppliers credits and 70 billion yen from Japanese commercial banks.

The aid agreements were concluded at a meeting at which Mr. Sakuruchi was accompanied by four other senior Cabinet ministers and Mr. Gu was flanked by six Cabinet members from Peking, including Foreign Minister Huang Huia.

This was the second of what were intended to be annual ministerial conferences, largely formal occasions designed to stress the importance of relations between the two countries.



The Associated Press

A schoolboy in Leszno, southwest Poland, carries a Christmas parcel of food distributed by a West German Red Cross truck convoy Monday. The Red Cross delivered about 80 tons of food collected by a Stuttgart newspaper. It was the first West German convoy to enter Poland since the declaration of martial law.

## Polish Army Said to Crush Main Resistance in Warsaw

(Continued from Page 1)

sources did confirm that Soviet transport planes have landed in Poland, but denied that there were any troop movements involved.

"This is not like transport planes arriving into Czechoslovakia in 1968," the source said, referring to the massive movement of troops into that country to crush the reform movement known as the "Prague Spring."

The source said the planes arriving in Poland were carrying "supplies" but did not reveal their nature.

## Status Raised Slightly

In Brussels, NATO sources said Soviet troops have raised their state of alertness slightly along the Polish frontier, but there appears to have been no sharp increase in Soviet military activity there.

The reports received in the West European capitals suggested that Poland's actions apparently were the direct result of Soviet pressure.

The administration also said for the first time Wednesday that Poland's actions apparently were the direct result of Soviet pressure.

The diplomatic sources said the army had cleared out protesters from the Ursus tractor plant in Warsaw, the university and the polytechnic institute in what was described as "a very efficient operation carried out with a great deal of skill."

A correspondent for Reuters, in a delayed dispatch from Warsaw that reached London on Wednesday, reported that a Solidarity courier who reached Warsaw from Gdansk said the shipyard where the free trade union movement was born 16 months ago fell to security forces Monday. He did not say whether there had been any violence.

There was no confirmation of reports that shooting had been heard in Krakow.

There was also no evidence to support a Solidarity statement smuggled to Sweden that hundreds

of thousands of workers were on strike.

In Washington, the Reagan administration Wednesday restricted the movements of Polish diplomats in the United States and declared its "great concern" over the situation in Poland.

In announcing the restrictions on Polish diplomats, Dean Fischer, a State Department spokesman, said the United States was responding in kind to the placing of guards outside U.S. diplomatic offices in Warsaw, Krakow and Poznan.

Mr. Fischer expressed serious concern about the large number of people reported arrested since Sunday.

He also said that if reports were true that Mr. Wałęsa "is not a free agent ... it will be hard to reconcile this with the Polish government's expressed commitment to the reform process and to funding political solutions."

The administration also said for the first time Wednesday that Poland's actions apparently were the direct result of Soviet pressure.

At the same time, the administration said Soviet military intervention in Poland would have "a severe and lasting effect on East-West relations."

Warsaw Radio repeated Wednesday night the pledge of the military leaders that democratic reforms would continue despite the imposition of martial law, according to the British Broadcasting Corp., which monitored the broadcast.

"There is no turning back from the fundamental premises of the process of democratization initiated last year," the Military Council of National Salvation said in a statement broadcast over Warsaw Radio.

The declaration said that "the council's aim is not to restore the methods of ruling and the forms of life before August, 1980." The council, composed of military men, was appointed Sunday to run the country.

It was in August of last year that widespread labor unrest forced Poland's communist authorities to accept the legal existence of Solidarity.

Janos Kadar, the Hungarian Communist leader, left Budapest by train Wednesday for Moscow and Western diplomats said they believed he would attend a gathering of Warsaw Pact officials in the Soviet capital.

East European sources in Moscow said last week that leaders of the seven-nation Warsaw Pact alliance were expected there for celebrations marking the 75th birthday of Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev next Saturday.

No formal summit meeting of the pact leaders was planned, the sources said, although they were likely to have "informal talks." There was no immediate word of departures of other East European leaders for Moscow but diplomats said they expected them to fly there later this week.

The first Western truck convoy to enter Poland since the declaration of martial law returned to West Germany Wednesday.

Organized by the West German Red Cross and a Stuttgart newspaper, the seven trucks carried 80 tons of donated food and drugs for children and hospitals in Leszno, a town of 45,000 near Wroclaw.

On their return, the 15 Red Cross workers and two reporters said they encountered no soldiers or tanks along Polish roads. "Leszno looked like a normal small town to me," one of the workers was quoted as saying.

The people of Leszno were not afraid but worried about their uncertain future, one worker said.

Malaysia Lashed by Rains

United Press International

KUALA LUMPUR: Torrential monsoon rains lashing northeastern Malaysia and Singapore for the fifth consecutive day have driven hundreds of people from their homes, relief officials said Wednesday.

Pope John Paul has asked the leaders of the four main nuclear powers — the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France — to meet the Vatican scientists.

Mr. Brezhnev received them at the pope's personal request.

## Compromise Offered at Madrid Talks

By James M. Markham  
*New York Times Service*

MADRID — With the military crackdown in Poland casting a long shadow over the deliberations of the Madrid conference on detente and human rights, the United States and the Soviet Union welcomed Wednesday a compromise document offered by eight neutral states as a possible basis for successfully ending the year-old gathering.

The ambitious 36-page compromise proposal, prepared by Austria, Canada, Finland, Liechtenstein, San Marino, Sweden, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, was submitted only two days before the Madrid conference was due to adjourn or end.

## Post-Madrid Meeting

Couched in the bland diplomatic language of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, which has been under review here by its 35 signatory states, the so-called "neutral paper" pulls together the strands of painfully negotiated general agreement on issues ranging from East-West economic cooperation to the rights of journalists.

But on the central question that for months has stalled diplomatic movement — the convocation of a post-Madrid meeting on military security — the new document clearly inclined toward positions taken by the United States and its NATO allies.

Originally a French proposal, the post-Madrid meeting would expand the "confidence-building measures" outlined in the Helsinki act; their purpose is to prevent a surprise military attack in six.

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The Soviet Union has attempted to get the United States and Canada to include air and naval maneuvers in the Atlantic Ocean, and even the activities of the new U.S. Rapid Deployment Force, in the zone that would be covered by the post-Madrid gathering. The conference would oblige participating countries to give advance notification of military movements.

But the Americans and Canadians, supported by the other NATO nations, have rebuffed the Soviet demands, and the neutral paper only covers some Atlantic maneuvers "insofar as these activities constitute a part of activities in Europe."

Both Leonid D. Il'yich, a deputy foreign minister and chief of the Soviet delegation, and Max M. Kampelman, the U.S. envoy to the conference, welcomed the neutral paper Wednesday. Both sides have been reluctant to be seen to be sabotaging hopes for advancing what is called "the Helsinki process" — which is extremely important to a number of smaller European states.

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The fast-moving Polish crisis, however, threatens to undo the labors of the diplomats here. As long as there is no evidence of overt Soviet intervention, Western diplomats have attempted to avoid embarrassing Poland's delegate, Włodzimierz Konarski, who has insisted that the emergency in his country is an internal matter.

But the French ambassador to the conference, Guy de Comines, speaking as the representative of a country that has always felt close to Poland, raised the crisis in Wednesday's session. "We have full confidence in the Polish people, as well as their institutions and what is today the heritage of a great European nation, that they will find, free of any interference or pressure, the solution to their own problems through the understanding of all of their citizens," Mr. de Comines said.

Mr. Kampelman, who seconded

the French delegate's words on Poland, later gave a clear warning about the negative impact Soviet intervention would have on the chances of reaching agreement in Madrid.

"If between now and Friday events in Poland deteriorate," he said, speaking to journalists, "there is no doubt that it would have a serious effect on the decisions that would be reached here and on the future of the [Helsinki] process."

The U.S. delegate was expected

to address the Polish question on Friday.

Facing a cutoff date of Friday, both Eastern and Western diplomats have informally agreed that it will be necessary for them to return to Madrid, probably late next month or early February, but pos-

sibly later. The cumbersome Helsinki ground rules require unanimous agreement by the 35 participating states to terminate their discussions, and it will be easiest to agree to keep talking.

Although its discussions often seem distressingly arcane — Mr. Kampelman spoke of "talmudic discussions" on the language surrounding the security conference — the Madrid gathering has a particular resonance in Eastern Europe, thanks in part to U.S. and West European radio broadcasts.

For this reason, some Western delegates, who had earlier favored a long adjournment, now, in light of the Polish crisis, see advantages in a short break. If the conference is unable to reach an agreement, they reason, it can at least serve as a sounding board for attacking the Soviet Union should it move into Poland.

As an indication of how serious

the Polish government takes the Radio Free Europe broadcasts, Ewald S. Campbell, a station vice president, said that there had been new jamming since Saturday night.

But the station was certainly being heard, he said, not necessarily when listeners wanted to, but at various times during the day.

For about three hours at sunset, ionospheric conditions change, creating what Mr. Campbell said was "twilight immunity," when jamming is ineffective. "We get through for sure then and much of the rest of the time," he said. "We figure the Soviet bloc spends three times more trying to jam us than we do broadcasting."

When he was asked about the tone of the communiques broadcast to Poland and whether it was true that the station referred to the democratization process as "the revolution," Mr. Michalowski replied: "Yes, we do occasionally use the phrase 'the Polish revolution' because it seems perfectly fitting. We are against strife of all kinds and for attaining democracy by peaceful means. Our idea is that any government must share power with the people. Nothing we say is at variance with United States foreign policy. And we acknowledge freely that because of their geographical position next to the Soviet Union, the Poles can never do exactly as they like. It's logic every Pole understands."

Washington on Tuesday, two leaders of the civilian wing of the guerrilla insurgency opposing the U.S.-supported government in El Salvador met with State Department officials, but there was no indication that the two sides made any progress toward compromise.

The group, led by Clark Kerr, president emeritus of the University of California and former head of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, and Angier Biddle Duke, a former ambassador to El Salvador and now chairman of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, said there were reports that as much as 17 percent of the small holdings turned over to tenants in the last seven months had been

forcibly retaken by former landlords.

The Rev. Ernest Bartell, professor of economics and head of the Kellogg Institute on International Studies at the University of Notre Dame, said his conversations with rural people indicated that they cared less about El Salvador's new electoral process and more about their security on the land.

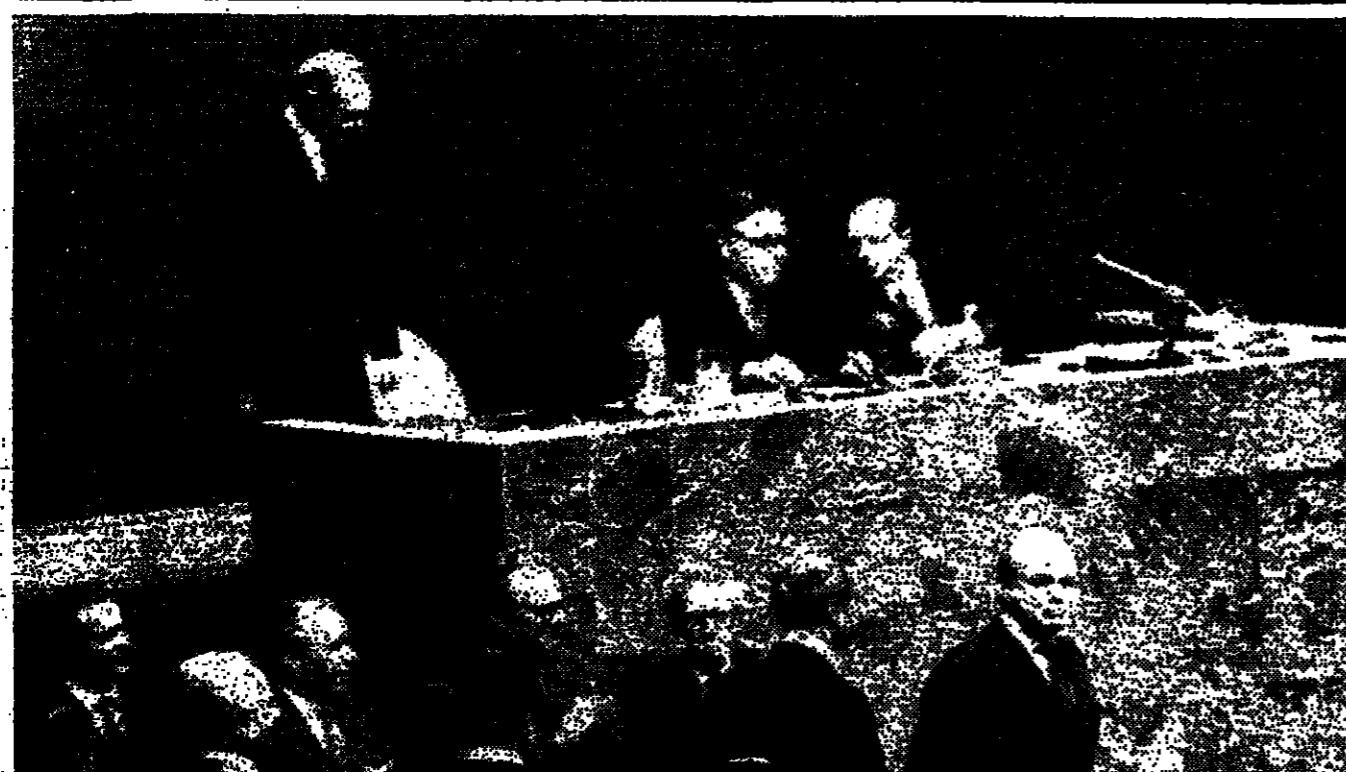
In Washington on Tuesday, two leaders of the civilian wing of the guerrilla insurgency opposing the U.S.-supported government in El Salvador met with State Department officials, but there was no indication that the two sides made any progress toward compromise.

together, provide a mosaic of detail, but now there is only a single broadcast from the soldiers running Warsaw Radio.

Radio Free Europe quotes it now the same way it reports on the weather, but the circumstances for reporting, the editors say, are more difficult than they were at the time of the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or in any other period of unrest in Poland since 1956.

As an indication of how serious

the Polish government takes the Radio Free Europe broadcasts, Ewald S. Campbell, a station vice president, said that



**SWORN IN** — Javier Pérez de Cuellar of Peru, right foreground, received prolonged applause after the General Assembly approved by acclamation his nomination by the Security Council as UN secretary-general. After being

sworn in, the 61-year-old diplomat told the General Assembly that he intended to "provide impetus" for negotiations on transferring wealth from developed to developing countries. At top left is Kurt Waldheim, the outgoing secretary-general.

## U.S.-Israeli Relations Strained by Annexation

### Israel Is Reportedly Sorry to Hurt Ally but Confident Furor Will Subside

By William Claiborne  
*Washington Post Service*

**JERUSALEM** — Bracing itself against an expected tide of international condemnation for annexing the Golan Heights, the Israeli government appears to have willingly approached — if it has not already passed — a watershed in its relations with the United States.

Beneath the private assurances by Israeli officials that the furor will pass are signs of awareness that Israel's relations with the United States, which has strongly protested the action as a violation of the Camp David accords, may be more stretched on this issue than ever before in the four-year tenure of Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

In response, as always when confronted by criticism for a stand it perceives as fundamental to the existence of the Jewish state, the Begin government has decided to do what it appears to think works best: employ public relations.

The Israeli Foreign Ministry announced Tuesday that it would launch an intensive information campaign abroad to try to explain the government's decision to annex the Golan Heights plateau that commands an imposing and strategic position above the fertile Galilee Valley.

Deputy Foreign Minister Yehuda Ben-Meir, in disclosing the public relations initiative, which will include personal contacts with a number of foreign ministers by Israel Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, said that Israel is not underestimating the enormity of its task.

"We knew we were facing a political struggle. We knew we were facing an information struggle. Certainly, we will put up a good case and a good fight," Mr. Ben Meir said.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

Golan Heights bill through the parliament on the day of the prime minister's discharge from the hospital where he had undergone an operation for a broken hip joint. The U.S. envoy also is said to have been personally hurt that Mr. Begin left him in the dark, as he did his entire Cabinet until just hours before the annexation vote.

But Mr. Begin, in a summation speech to the Knesset on Monday night, underscored a principle to which he has adhered unwaveringly in his 33 years in Israeli politics: on paramount issues of security, Israel should be willing to risk even the good will of its staunchest ally.

In an interview on Radio Israel, Mr. Shamir said he was sorry if the U.S. government felt hurt. "But, as much as we want to coordinate our activities with the United States, the interests are not identical," he said. "We have, from time to time, worry about our own interests."

Then, in a comment that appeared to reflect the Begin government's confidence, Mr. Shamir added, "In the past, there have been misunderstandings between Israel and the United States, and after a period of time, things have returned to normal." He said he

hoped this would happen in the "near future."

While Israeli officials continued to couch the annexation law in terms of "applying Israeli law" to the Golan, they acknowledged that Mr. Begin's declaration that the heights had become part of the "land of Israel" implied the outright assertion of Israeli sovereignty over the Syrian territory.

Legal observers noted that the language of the Golan Heights bill is identical to that used by the Knesset in June, 1967, when it annexed East Jerusalem and part of the West Bank, and that Israeli courts had interpreted the application of Israeli law to mean a territory as giving Israel sovereignty over it.

**Compelling Reasons**

Taking into account that world opinion would recognize the language of the Golan Heights bill as a euphemism for annexation, Israeli government sources cited what they said they regard as compelling reasons for going ahead with the unpopular move. They are:

• Rejection by the recent Arab League summit in Fez, Morocco, of a Saudi peace plan that only obliquely suggested the right of Israel to exist, and Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's reported assertion that even if the Palestine Liberation Organization recognized Israel's right to exist, Syria would not.

This argument, while appearing to overlook Israel's outright rejection of the Saudi peace plan when it was first announced and Mr. Assad's long-standing refusal to recognize Israel, is the centerpiece of the Begin government's declared justification for annexing the Golan Heights.

• The internal pressure on Mr. Begin's Likud coalition to fulfill promises made on the campaign platform and in coalition agreements.

• An opportunity to capitalize on the diversion of international attention toward the crisis in Poland, and the realization that the Soviet Union might be too preoccupied by events in Poland to rush to the aid of its client state, Syria.

Some Labor Party critics, however, suggested Tuesday that the Soviet Union might seek to divert world attention from Poland by coming to the assistance of Syria and creating a Middle East crisis.

• The opportunity to test Egypt's intentions to continue with the autonomy negotiations and normalization of relations.

The Labor Party opponents of the annexation move — or, more properly, of the decision to make the move at this time — said that possible negative results included further Arab pressure on European nations not to join the U.S.-sponsored Sinai peacekeeping force; the possible involvement of the Soviet Union in the dispute; jeopardizing the autonomy talks and further normalization with Egypt; and the solidification of the fractious Arab world into a more united front against Israel.

Asked Tuesday what Israel would do if Syria expressed interest in negotiating a return of the Golan, Mr. Shamir said, "Yes, Israel has said it is willing to negotiate everything. We do not set preconditions."

But he emphasized he did not foresee the return of the Golan.

## Congress Reinstates Social Security Benefit

From Agency Dispatches

WASHINGTON — The House passed on Wednesday a stopgap Social Security bill that would save a \$122-a-month minimum benefit for 3 million people and that would shore up the retirement system for another year. The House vote of 412-10 followed approval by the Senate on Tuesday.

"Hallelujah, praise the Lord and amen," said Rep. J.J. Pickle, Democrat of Texas and chairman of the House Social Security Subcommittee. "I take satisfaction in knowing we've restored the minimum benefit. That is compassionate, and that is the right thing to do."

In other action, the House approved a foreign-aid authorization that contains qualified victories for the Reagan administration in its quest for a free hand in sending assistance to countries once barred from receiving it.

The House endorsed a House-Senate conference report that removed former restrictions on aid to Pakistan, Chile and Argentina. The Senate voted Tuesday night, 55-42, to approve it, and the House's voice vote completed action on the authorization.

### Help for Elderly Women

There were scattered complaints on the House floor against Israel, a principal beneficiary of the aid package. Several members objected to voting large amounts of aid to Israel following that country's annexation of the Golan Heights.

The minimum Social Security benefit goes to those who did not pay enough into the system to qualify for regular payments, most of them elderly women and half of them over 70.

The exclusion of new beneficiaries after Jan. 1 prompted some House members to vote against the bill, while others urged future legislation to change that stipulation.

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The president, in personally announcing the task force, said he will keep his campaign promise to restore the integrity of Social Security "without penalty to those dependent on that program. We cannot and we will not betray people entitled to Social Security benefits."

cost of restoring the benefit over the next five years.

It also postpones until next year the issue of long-term changes in financing Social Security, including possible benefit cuts.

The vote was, as the Senate Democratic leader, Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, put it, a Democratic victory at a time when the party's "victories appear to be scarce."

Sen. Byrd added that the bill takes "a major step toward helping the president to begin to keep his campaign pledge" to protect Social Security.

### Political Charges

The Democrats had portrayed congressional repeal of the benefit last summer as an example of Republican efforts to trim spending at the expense of poor and elderly people.

On Tuesday, the bill restoring the benefit was approved 334-84 by the Republican-controlled Senate.

"Changes have to be made in a balanced and considered mode," Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, Democrat of New York, said before Tuesday's Senate vote. "Congress made a mistake when it voted to abolish the minimum, which goes to people utterly in need."

At the White House, Mr. Reagan announced Wednesday the formation of a 15-member bipartisan task force to seek solutions to the retirement system's fiscal problems.

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president the two big new strategic weapons systems he wants: the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, along with billions of dollars worth of other military hardware and money to start work on the radar-proof Stealth bomber.

The compromise worked out by House and Senate negotiators fell about \$1 billion below Mr. Reagan's request.

The House had voted \$197.4 billion in military appropriations, while the Senate had approved \$208.7 billion. The difference came from the Senate's approval of money for pay increases and for inflation and cost overruns.

The bill provides about \$28 billion more than the appropriation for fiscal 1981.

The farm bill awaiting a vote by the House also approved appropriations bills for agriculture and military construction.

The \$200-billion military appropriations bill, approved 334-84 by the House and 93-4 by the Senate, is the largest in history and the first installment of Mr. Reagan's rearmament program. It gives the

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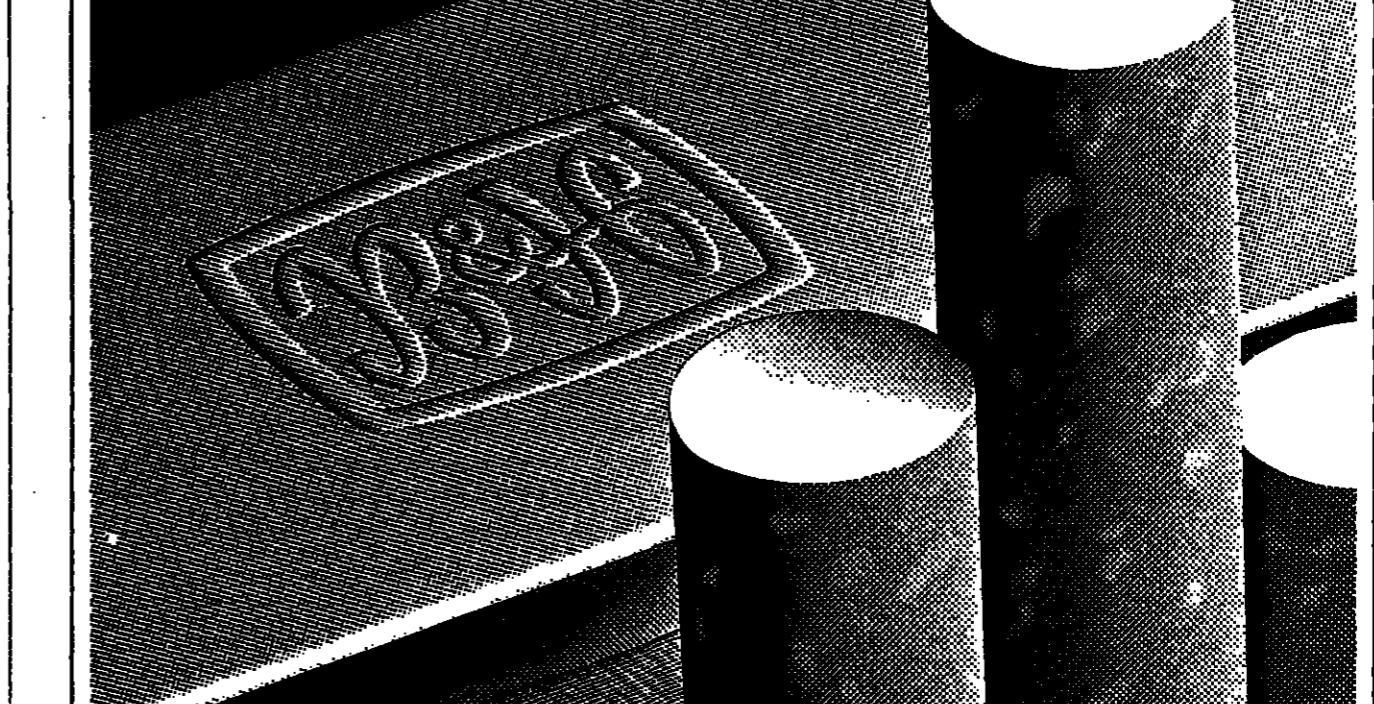
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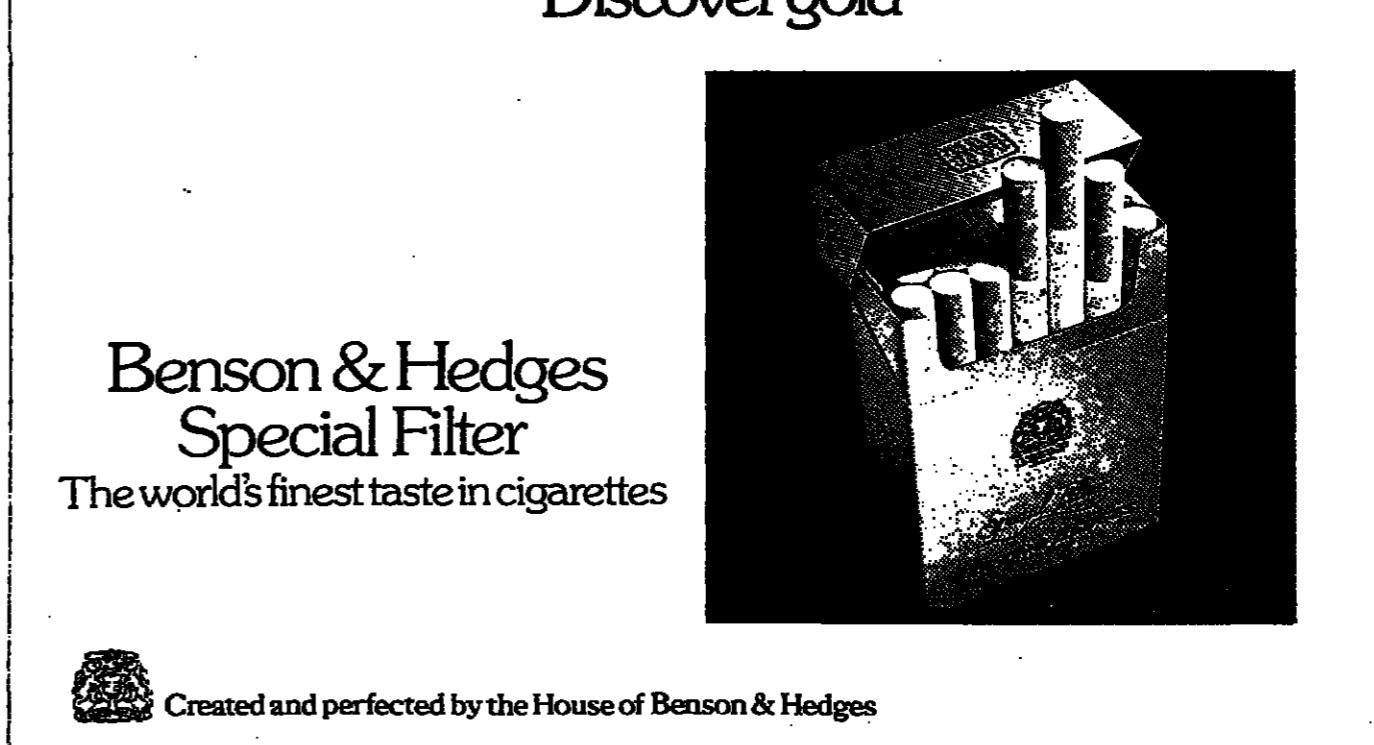
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## Israel Breaks a Promise

Menachem Begin got out of a hospital bed Monday and within hours, without a word of notice or preparation, broke the fundamental Israeli promise on which all of Israel's hopes for peace hinge. That promise, repeated many times, was to exchange territory for peace. By annexing the Golan, Israel precludes peace with Syria. It is that simple.

Prime Minister Begin offered two lines of argument. First, he said, Golan is part of the historic "land of Israel." But it is part only of what he calls, and then only in his less guarded moments, eastern Eretz Israel, which stretches from the Jordan eastward to the Euphrates River. It is a stroke of sheer fanaticism to base an actual territorial claim on that fantasy.

Then, Mr. Begin says, there is security. Yes, there is. Israel needs security from attack by Syria, which sat on the Golan and poured fire down on Israeli farmers before 1967 and which has refused to accept Israel and negotiate peace ever since. Syria meets no acceptable standard of international comity. Internal tensions have made the Syrians especially nasty in recent years. Ultimately,

nonetheless, security for Israel rests on waiting for Syria to come around. Certainly the answer is not to make it hard for Israel's friends to justify or support Israeli conduct.

The most damaging burden Washington carries in its dealings with Arab countries is their suspicion that America is an accomplice, either mindless or witting, of a manipulative Israeli expansionism. This is why the administration must leave no doubt about its rejection of the Israeli action. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger says it is like the Israeli attack on the Iraqi reactor. No, it is worse. The attack on the reactor had a certain security rationale. This step has none.

Fortunately, it is only a political decision, changing nothing on the ground. A political decision can rescind it. Mr. Reagan should not bother tut-tutting. He should bring real pressure to bear on the Israelis to return to the position that territory is to be traded for peace. There is nothing to negotiate here. It must be, for the United States, a point of principle. What other basis is there on which the United States can support Israel?

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Stones in the Aegean

The new Socialist premier in Greece, Andreas Papandreou, has a problem. He came to power talking neutrality and needs to prove he meant it. So he threatens Greek "disengagement" from NATO unless he gets what the alliance cannot give: a guarantee of Greek territory against "aggression" by Turkey, another NATO ally. Mr. Papandreou knows who will benefit if he pushes too hard—an Aegean nation, but not Greece.

Thus Washington, too, has a problem. It wants to contain the Greek-Turkish feud that is poisoning the alliance and pointing toward a NATO split. When Turkey invaded Cyprus in 1974, Greece withdrew from NATO's military wing, returning only after years of intricate negotiations over air rights and command powers in the Aegean. Mr. Papandreou now demands still better terms.

The temptation is to tell off the Greeks and align with Turkey. But that would intensify Greek resentment, unsettle a hard-bought truce and give excessive comfort to Turkey's harsh military regime. The risks for all are defined by a Greek proverb: It takes only one man to toss a stone into the sea, but not even a hundred can pull it out.

NATO could survive another Greek withdrawal; France chose that course years ago. Nor would the loss of four U.S. bases be a

grievous blow. What would cause protracted damage would be an angry confrontation with a Socialist regime that would then turn equivocal neutrality into patriotic dogma.

Better to hear out Mr. Papandreou, as Secretaries Haig and Weinberger are evidently doing, to learn how much domestic posturing figures in his foreign policy. Better, too, to enlist the good offices of France's security-minded Socialist, President Mitterrand, with whom Mr. Papandreou feels a kinship. And wiser to keep in mind that American support for Greece's dictatorial colonels helped hoist the chip onto Mr. Papandreou's shoulder.

This is not just a NATO matter. The Greek vote counts if there is to be progress on a tangle of Mediterranean disputes, including Cyprus. That vote is all the more important because it is a democratic one. It may seem easier to deal with military regimes, like Turkey's, but Greece shows the hazards; when the wheel turns, jailed politicians have a way of reclaiming power on a wave of popular resentment.

Gratuitous praise for Turkey, which lacks even a timetable for reviving democracy, is a poor way to counter Mr. Papandreou. American diplomacy should aim at keeping Aegean stones where they belong, in the NATO sling.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## A New Secretary-General

As usual, the United Nations has selected as secretary-general an experienced public figure from a small country that enjoys good relations with its neighbors. He is Javier Pérez de Cuellar, a veteran Peruvian international lawyer and diplomat. He knows the UN scene, has dealt extensively with Soviets and Americans, and has a reputation for fairness and competence. You had never heard of him? It is hard to become head of the United Nations without being discreet.

Something is known, however, about the strategy that brought him his new post. At first he hung back, content to see the incumbent, Austria's Kurt Waldheim, start out with 94 Third World votes against him and then take defeat after defeat until the total reached a mortal 16. It was evident, too, that while the United States publicly opposed the premier Third World candidate, Salim Salim of Tanzania, the Soviet Union privately opposed him as well as too unpredictable. That made the only solution, in the Peruvian reading, a "transaction candidate." Latin America, being a region with many founding members, felt it had a good chance to beat candidates from other regions.

Sorting out the Latin candidates was the next phase. Neither of the two Argentine dip-

lomats running could count on the support of his own government. Mexico's candidate, the foreign minister, was strongly identified with a position on El Salvador that the Reagan administration finds unpalatable. The Panamanian foreign minister suffered from the fact that Panama already has a Security Council seat. Even before the voting began in New York, Mr. Pérez was back in Latin America campaigning.

We wish Mr. Pérez well. We hope he has pondered his new duties. Americans are somewhat deranged about the United Nations. They persist in believing that something better can come out of the institution than has been evident in recent years. We think that what is needed is a firm conviction on Mr. Pérez's part that he is there for one purpose: to serve the charter's grand commitment to solve disputes peacefully and fairly. He cannot disburse his political capital casually. Nor can he be so intent on preserving it that he evades his principal calling. To have it said when he finally leaves office that he navigated cautiously among the powers, great and small, and left them all more or less equally content, or discontent, is the definition of failure.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### Military Roles in East Europe

There must be an element of worry for Moscow, despite the approval expressed [Monday] by Tass. Speculation about how matters might develop in the Soviet Union, in the event of serious troubles in that racy country, with its enormous economic problems, always returns in the end to the idea of a military takeover. The army has now picked up the tab in Poland. It may be the beginning of something new. Either that, or merely the prelude to a disaster.

—From the *Daily Telegraph* (London).

### A Kuwaiti Defense of Libya

If Tripoli is now the target of American attack, the target will eventually include the entire Arab world.

—From *Al-Rai al-Am* (Kuwait).

## Dec. 17: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

### 1906: Discussions on Persia

TEHRAN — An important political exchange of opinions is taking place at present between Russia and Great Britain in regard to the much-studied question of Persia, hitherto a fatal stumbling block to relations between those two countries. These Anglo-Russian negotiations are progressing most favorably. England most emphatically desires, as the cardinal point in any agreement, that the integrity and independence of the Persian kingdom should be secured. Russia has given assurances that she is far from wishing any increase of territory in Persia or indeed anywhere else, and that she takes a keen interest in Persia because it forms a natural and valuable outlet for her trade.

### 1931: Women in Bootlegging

NEW YORK — American womanhood, which has invaded virtually every profession and trade, has taken the lion's share in one of the country's roughest industries according to an announcement by government officials. The industry is liquor smuggling. The collector of the customs in Detroit has announced that more than 85 percent of those now trying to bring liquor into the United States on their persons from Canada are women. The hand that rocks the cradle, he says, does not hesitate to hide bottles in the swaddling clothes of infants. And they accept \$1 to \$3 over the Canadian price from their patrons for whiskey, whereas men bootleggers ask a much greater profit.

## While Solidarity Reels, Westerners Shrink Back

### Tanks Can't Force Us to Work'

By Leopold Unger

**R**USSIA — After 36 years of Communist Party control of the levers of power in Poland, the army has been forced to take over. This is the first military putsch in a Communist country, and a declaration to the world that the Communist system has failed — because it was to prevent Poland from falling apart that a military junta replaced the government, the police and the party.

Of the 20 general officers and colonels who make up the new ruling Council of National Salvation, only three were well-known before Sunday. Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the man of many hats, heads the party, the government and the army and now the junta as well. Adam Ludwik Sajmorski is believed to have refused to send sailors to break strike in the summer of 1980. Col. Miroslaw Hermański is the only Polish comonant.

The 17 other members of the junta come from the political elite of the army and the national security forces. Together the 20 men pulled off a perfect coup: An army of 320,000 men ended 500 days of freedom for a nation of 36 million.

After Solidarity members were beaten up in Bydgoszcz last March, Solidarity prepared a contingency plan for the event of a military coup, including unlimited strikes with occupation of factories. But the coup came as a surprise.

The secret had been well kept despite the need to prepare thousands of men to occupy sensitive posts, and to prepare hundreds of documents regulating public life. Discipline was such that neither Solidarity, which believed it had members everywhere, nor apparently the church, usually very well-informed, knew what was coming.

Poles liked to believe until Sunday that while the top echelons of the army belonged to the party, the core was with Solidarity. If the degree of Solidarity's infiltration of the army is still hard to gauge, it is clear that all the generals and colonels are party members. And Gen. Jaruzelski, like the other members of the national council, is a Communist product of Soviet military and political schools.

The coup was by no means a domestic affair. The putschists may all wear Polish uniforms, but the takeover would not have been possible without the complicity of the Kremlin and particularly the Soviet military command. If, as Washington declared with relief, there was no sign that the 40 Soviet divisions deployed along the Polish border moved toward Warsaw, any more than the two Soviet divisions stationed inside Poland, it was because 15 Polish divisions were moving.

The Soviet generals of the Warsaw Pact forces could not have ignored the movement of troops in Poland, and more likely participated in every aspect of the operation. Polish troops had to be withdrawn from Warsaw Pact tasks and from its communications and surveillance systems, which are controlled by a joint headquarters and had to be placed under Polish command. The Polish Army had to be helped to stock food (presumably from Soviet military depots) to help meet basic needs of the population after the coup.

A high-level Soviet delegation, led by a Politburo member, visited Warsaw last week and left just before the coup. It is believed to have brought a message from the Kremlin that Gen. Jaruzelski could not appear in Moscow for the planned Communist summit next Saturday — called on the pretext of Leonid Brezhnev's 75th birthday — as a Communist leader without a party, a premier without a government and an army chief whose forces were unable to keep order.

The date of the summit was advance indication of the date of the coup, since the takeover could occur only on a Sunday, when factories are empty and workers dispersed. Dec. 13 was the last Sunday before the ceremonies in Moscow. The Solidarity leadership was meeting in Gdańsk and thus easy to isolate.

The question that remained was how the troops would react if ordered to fire against striking workers.

The military takeover is an indication

### Moral Outrage Has Been Mild

By James Reston

**W**ASHINGTON — You can't read the newspapers or listen to the evening news these days without feeling that something is deeply wrong in the Western alliance.

The Soviet and Polish governments knew in advance that they would risk U.S. opposition if they used force to suppress the freedom movement in Poland. Likewise, Israel knew it would infuriate the Reagan administration and the European allies if it annexed the Golan Heights. But they went ahead.

All the tough anti-Communist rhetoric out of Washington, the threat of economic sanctions, and even the risk of breaking off nuclear arms talks in Geneva did not prevent Moscow and Warsaw from trying to break the will of the Polish labor unions. They took it all as a bluff and counted on confusion in the White House and divisions among the allies. On the evidence so far, it was not a bad gamble.

When the Polish and Soviet regimes

about the rumors of a threat from a few Libyan terrorists on the lives of U.S. officials, although these rumors were summarily rejected by the allies. Incredibly, it is now known that similar threats were circulated against President Carter a few months after he took office. Intelligence reports had it that a member of the White House service staff was involved in a Libyan plot to assassinate Carter. Careful security measures were taken, but Carter insisted that nothing should be said publicly, to avoid public anxiety.

There is great danger, however, in the comparatively mild condemnation by the West of the military suppression of Solidarity in Poland. Officials in Washington don't know what is going on there now. Communications have been cut off; the movement of U.S. Embassy officials, Western reporters and Roman Catholic priests has been restricted.

Without a quick and eloquent protest from the West, the union and press leaders of the freedom movement in Poland can be only silenced but liquidated. This moral disarmament in the West could be decisive.

The Israeli action on the Golan Heights, taken suddenly while the allies were preoccupied with the Polish crisis, is a different problem but also baffling. It puts the whole Camp David peace process in jeopardy, embarrasses the new government of Egypt, and questions the Israeli agreement to withdraw from Sinai. More important, differences in the Western alliance about the defense of Europe and about Middle East security are raising, for the first time since World War II, questions in Washington about America's military commitment to both areas.

I asked Howard Baker, the Senate majority leader, what would happen if another Mansfield Resolution were proposed to withdraw U.S. troops from Europe. He said he hoped it would be defeated, but he wasn't sure.

The Wall Street Journal printed a long editorial-page article this week proposing that the United States reconsider its commitment to Europe and turn its attention to the Pacific. I saw Ambassador Mansfield in Tokyo the other day and he was singing the same song. "The future is here," he insisted, "not in the Atlantic."

So the storm signals are up. The U.S. envoy in Bonn, Arthur Burns, warned the European allies the other day not to take the United States for granted, and U.S. officials have been telling Israel not to assume that Washington will go on forever financing policies it opposes.

At the end of the old year, there is a natural tendency to tidy things up and a major reappaisal is going on in Washington: first and foremost, whether the foreign policy decision-making process in the Reagan administration is working — very few people think it is; and second, whether the U.S. commitments in Europe and the Middle East can go on as before. Everybody seems to have the crazy idea that he can go it alone these days. If we're not careful, America could go crazy and isolationist too.

Washington made much more noise

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## The Challenge in South Asia: Stop the Drift Toward War

By Selig S. Harrison

**T**OKYO — The danger of a new Indian-Pakistani war is looming steadily larger.

A decade after Bangladesh won its independence from Pakistan with the help of the Indian Army, New Delhi and Islamabad appear to be drifting toward a more far-reaching confrontation that could bring further dismemberment of Pakistan and possibly the use of nuclear weapons.

Historians surely will conclude that the sudden resurgence in South Asian tensions in 1981 resulted directly from the Reagan administration's decision to provide \$3.2 billion in military and economic aid to Pakistan. The underlying forces at work in the region were building up long before Reagan arrived on the scene, but it was the sweeping, indiscriminate character of the aid package that touched off the cur-

rent chain reaction of suspicion and recrimination.

Instead of designing a selective program tailored for defensive mountain warfare against Soviet forces in Afghanistan, America has acceded to Pakistan's requests for long-range F-16 attack aircraft, M-48 heavy tanks and other sophisticated weapons intended primarily to improve its balance of power with India. This has strengthened hard-liners in India, who claim for large-scale arms spending, a crash program to develop nuclear weapons and pre-emptive action against Pakistan before it can build up a more favorable military position.

Reagan administration officials formulated their program of aid to Mohammed Zia ul-Haq's regime with surprisingly little attention to its effect on India-Pakistan relations. They focused myopically on the Soviet specter in Afghanistan and on helping Pakistan play a vaguely defined role in the Gulf.

To help set things right, the United States should extend a formal, written assurance to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi that America will not permit its weapons to be used to attack India. President Eisenhower made such a pledge to Jawaharlal Nehru when America embarked on its ill-fated program of military aid to Pakistan in 1954. This did not fully mollify India, but it gave America a rationale for cutting off ammunition, spare parts and petroleum to Pakistan during the 1965 India-Pakistan war.

Against the background of its F-16 blunder, there is not much Washington can do in the near future to repair its shattered relations with India or help diplomatically in promoting a relaxation of tensions in South Asia. If the vicious circle of enmity and distrust is to be broken, it is the South Asian leaders themselves who must take the initiative.

As the overwhelmingly larger power, India should begin to show large-heartedness and magnanimity, which it has rarely displayed when dealing with smaller neighbors. So far India has responded with knee-jerk negativity to Gen. Zia's overtures for a nonaggression agreement and for negotiations on the ratio of Pakistan's military forces to India's and on disengagement of both countries' forces.

Indian officials argue that a nonaggression agreement with Pakistan would be meaningless as long as the Kashmir dispute persists. They contend that Pakistan should agree to convert the cease-fire line in Kashmir into a de jure international boundary as an accompaniment to a nonaggression pact. In the foreseeable future, however, any Pakistani regime would find it politically difficult, if not impossible, to conclude a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute. As part of the 1972 Simla agreement, Islamabad explicitly pledged not to use force to alter the cease-fire line, and a nonaggression pact could indirectly incorporate this pledge by reaffirming the Simla agreement.

On the issue of military disengagement, New Delhi should offer to explore a localized agreement in the Punjab along the lines suggested by Lt. Gen. Harbans Singh, who commanded Indian forces on the Western front in the 1965 war. He has outlined an intricate formula for Indian withdrawals east of the Ravi River and reciprocal Pakistani withdrawals west of the Ravi River, to be monitored by a neutral inspection force.

Pakistan and India should give such an agreement urgent priority, because a relaxation of tensions in the Punjab is the prerequisite for a redeployment of Pakistani forces from the Indian to the Afghan frontier.

In the long run, only a fundamental understanding between New Delhi and Islamabad with respect to the maintenance of the political integrity of the two countries can break the vicious circle in South Asia.

India, for example, should demonstrate that it accepts Pakistan in its present form by giving de jure recognition to Pakistan's controversial border with Afghanistan, the Durand Line. Pakistan should show that it is ready to move toward ultimate acceptance of the Kashmir cease-fire line.

The writer is a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This article is adapted from the winter issue of Foreign Policy magazine.

## Mrs. Gandhi's Nuclear Nuances

By Jonathan Power

**N**EW DELHI — Relations between India and the United States have not been as bad since the days of the Nixon-Kissinger tilt toward Pakistan a decade ago.

U.S. diplomats, trying to be sanguine, point to the good working arrangement established by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi with President Reagan at the Cancún summit in October, a lack of open resentment about U.S. reservations on the big IMF loan just awarded to India, and the restrained discussions on the vexed question of continuing the supply of enriched uranium to the Tarapur nuclear reactor. Nevertheless, a two-hour talk with Mrs. Gandhi last week showed how wide the g

## Marcos' Loyal Opposition: Too Late?

Strength of Communist Guerrillas in the Philippines Is Mounting

By William Branigin  
*Washington Post Service*

MANILA — During 16 years in power, President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines has built seemingly unbeatable political machine. He has relied heavily on the military during eight years of martial law, but he is also credited with what the Filipinos call political *lito*, or cleverness, in outwitting his opponents.

Now it seems the Marcos machine may have been a little bit too unbeatable. Faced with increasing polarization marked by steadily growing support for a Communist insurgency in the provinces, Mr. Marcos is promoting a stronger moderate opposition.

But there is a feeling here it may be too late for that, and other problems may yet catch up with the Marcos rule. Besides the drift toward more radical opposition, a deteriorating economy and the absence of any clear successor to the 64-year-old authoritarian ruler contribute to doubts about the future stability of America's most important ally in Southeast Asia. The question that crops up repeatedly is: Can a revolution happen here?

### Opposition Split

As with most matters of Philippine politics, there is no consensus on the question. But few would dispute that the New People's Army, the guerrilla arm of the Communist Party, is becoming a bigger factor and that the legal opposition has been divided, demoralized and weakened since Mr. Marcos scored a lopsided victory

6 months ago in a presidential election that was boycotted by most opposition groups.

In an interview, Mr. Marcos conceded that the New People's Army was "becoming more active," but he denied that this meant it was "gaining strength" or attracting adherents from the legal opposition.

The guerrillas are "gaining support in the form of funding," Mr. Marcos said, "and we're trying to pin this down. We suspect some of the funding is from outside."

He added, "I strongly suspect this is from people who are in the Communist fringes in some countries, including the United States."

Although the New People's Army professes Maoist principles, Mr. Marcos said, "we are certain the money is 'not from China.'

Diplomatic sources said it was the first time that Mr. Marcos had mentioned a foreign source of support for the New People's Army.

### Other Rebels

Mr. Marcos stressed that "they're not getting too much" and that the amounts were in the thousands of dollars rather than the millions. He said the other main rebel group, the Moro National Liberation Front, was no longer receiving foreign aid for its secessionist war in the southern Philippines and was weakening.

Mr. Marcos conceded that because of development problems, some parts of the Philippines were fertile ground for rebel groups. This recognition apparently lies at the heart of an ambitious new rural development program that

seems to have become a top priority.

Certainly, the country's economic problems provide ammunition for the radical opposition. Real wages are declining, economic growth is slower, the balance of trade is worsening, and the foreign debt has reached \$15 billion, near its constitutional limit.

Mr. Roxas asserted that leftists are "certainly gaining ground in many parts of the country."

### Martial Law

The opposition has charged that Mr. Marcos used his position during more than eight years of martial law, which he declared in 1972, to build a political machine that evolved as his New Society Movement. Since he lifted martial law in January, Mr. Marcos seems to have relaxed the authoritarian nature of his rule somewhat, but his opponents still find plenty of reasons to excoriate him.

For example, the press is freer than it used to be, but restrictions remain and criticism of Mr. Marcos is still not tolerated. Abuses of human rights by the military are generally said to have diminished, but critics allege more excesses than ever by government-backed civilian groups waging counterinsurgency campaigns.

Another major opposition accusation is that Mr. Marcos and his supporters have remained in power after the lifting of martial law by resorting to voting fraud and other irregularities to win elections and

plebiscites. In particular, they challenge the referendum earlier this year that approved constitutional changes allowing Mr. Marcos to run for a new six-year term as president in a quasi-parliamentary system of government. He also will be eligible for re-election.

Besides these changes, however, diplomatic sources also cite the opposition's own disarray as a reason for its troubles. While opposition politicians have excelled at criticism of Mr. Marcos and his policies, they have been unable to agree on alternative programs.

Specifically, diplomats said the umbrella group, the United Democratic Opposition, never released a 28-page economic program that it said had been prepared at the time of the June presidential election, apparently because of basic disagreements on the participation of multinational companies here.

### Further Squabbles

Since then, further squabbles have erupted about the wisdom of the electoral boycott, allowing Mr. Marcos to claim a new mandate after garnering 88 percent of the vote against only token opposition.

Although Mr. Marcos explained his call for a stronger legal opposition as a way to curb financial abuses by members of his ruling party, political observers said it was also in his interest to counter the growth of the left.

"I realize there is a need for an opposition, especially when the



Ferdinand E. Marcos with his wife, Imelda.

majority party is very powerful," Mr. Marcos said. "You can't watch everything that happens in the government."

Mr. Marcos seemed sensitive about the idea of political polarization, calling it a "pure concoction." He also reacted strongly to the thesis that the Reagan administration is unwittingly furthering such a process by strong statements of support. Most often cited in this connection is the remark by Vice President Bush at Mr. Marcos' inauguration that "we love your adherence to democratic principles and to democratic processes."

Mr. Marcos said U.S. leaders "certainly don't influence the results of elections in this country, nor the feelings of our people." The idea that Mr. Bush's "ceremonial gesture" is "supposed to upset the political situation in the country is a little bit overdone. It not only offends me, it offends many other people. I don't owe my present position to anybody in the United States. Neither does anybody in the [legislature], nor do the rebels."

Mr. Marcos was equivocal when asked if his call for a stronger opposition meant that his leading political foe, former Sen. Benigno Aquino, could return without being imprisoned. Under prodding by the Carter administration, Mr. Marcos freed Mr. Aquino in May last year, after nearly eight years in prison, to undergo heart surgery in the United States. Mr. Aquino decided to stay, taking a fellowship at Harvard University rather than coming back to finish serving his sentence on charges of subversion and murder.

Mr. Marcos said Mr. Aquino "has to answer to the Supreme Court" but he "would consider" granting a pardon.

## Victor Kugler Is Dead; Sheltered Anne Frank

The Associated Press

TORONTO — Victor Kugler, 81, the man who hid Anne Frank, her family and four other Dutch Jews from the Nazis during World War II, died Monday.

Mr. Kugler kept the four members of the Frank family and their companions hidden above his spice merchant's office in Amster-

### OBITUARIES

dam for 25 months before they were discovered and deported to Nazi concentration camps, where all but Miss Frank's father, Otto, died.

Anne Frank died in the German

### 2 Papers in Italy Defy Chain's Order to Close

The Associated Press

MILAN — Journalists and typographers Wednesday defied a shutdown order by the Italian publishing group Rizzoli and published two of its ailing dailies, the tabloid *L'Espresso* and the afternoon *Corriere d'Informazione*.

The two newspapers were distributed with mastheads bearing the name of the president of the Italian Press Federation, Piero Agostini, while unions printed and distributed the issues on their own. The federation is an association of journalists. Meanwhile, press unions have called a 24-hour nationwide strike of all Italian news-

papers.

Mr. Kugler was awarded the Munk Award by the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews in 1977 and the Joseph Award by the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York in 1978. Last year, he was the subject of a Canadian television film called "The Man Who Hid Anne Frank."

### Howard C. Ramsey

NEW YORK (NYT) — Howard C. Ramsey, 90, a former chairman of the board and chief executive officer of the Worthington Corp., died Monday at his home in Short Hills, N.J.

### Dewey (Pigmeat) Markham

NEW YORK (NYT) — Dewey (Pigmeat) Markham, 77, a vaudeville comedian best known for his skit called "Here Comes the Judge," died Sunday after a stroke. He appeared on television as a guest of Ed Sullivan. Johnny Carson, Mike Douglas and Merv Griffin and on the "Laugh-In" shows.

## Wife Reports Sakharov Is Recovering Slowly

By Bryan Brambley  
*The Associated Press*

MOSCOW — The wife of Andrei D. Sakharov, the Nobel Peace Prize laureate, said Wednesday that he is recovering slowly after a 17-day hunger strike but feels that its successful outcome was a "great victory" for human rights.

The strike by Mr. Sakharov and his wife, Yelena G. Bonner, won the right for their daughter-in-law, Liza Alexeyeva, to leave Soviet Union to join her husband in the United States.

"This was a great victory which concerns not only a personal problem. It drew international attention to the Helsinki accord, which calls for governments to allow their citizens to come and go freely from their own countries," Mrs. Bonner said.

She made her comments to Western newsmen after returning to Moscow from Mr. Sakharov's exile home in Gorki, 250 miles (400 kilometers) east of Moscow. Mr. Sakharov, 60, remained in a Gorki hospital.

Their hunger strike began Nov. 22 and ended Dec. 9, the day after the KGB, the Soviet security police, informed the couple that Miss Alexeyeva would be allowed to emigrate.

Cameraman Wins \$125,000 in Suit

United Press International

SAN FRANCISCO — A combat photographer severely wounded in the Vietnam War has been awarded \$125,000 by a U.S. grand jury that agreed that *Time* magazine should compensate him for injuries sustained on assignment.

*Time* Page, 37, had sued for \$4.3 million and \$50,000 a year for life, saying that the magazine had reneged on an agreement to support him in case of injury. *Time* Inc., however, said that Mr. Page had agreed to accept payment of his medical expenses, a one-year photo assignment in Rome and \$15,000 as final payment for his services.

Mr. Page said he was disappointed by the amount of the verdict but said he hoped the decision would "straighten out the position of all free-lancers of all media."

Mr. Sakharov is currently receiving intravenous injections to supplement his diet and to treat a heart condition, which Mrs. Bonner said involves low blood pressure.

Mrs. Bonner, who was reunited with Miss Alexeyeva at Mr. Sakharov's Moscow apartment, said she looked to the young woman's scheduled weekend departure with both sadness and joy.

"We've got so much to do before she leaves," Mrs. Bonner said.

Miss Alexeyeva said that she had the necessary Soviet and U.S. documents for her trip and planned to meet the KGB demand that she leave before next Monday.

Forcibly Removed

Mrs. Bonner, 58, a physician, said that she had cared for her husband at home during their hunger strike before they were forcibly taken to separate hospitals Dec. 4.

Mr. Sakharov, she said, was working on a scientific paper and will inform the Soviet Academy of Sciences that he will resume his cooperation with other scientists conducting research on nuclear fusion.

He told the academy last summer that he would suspend such cooperation until the Miss Alexeyeva, 26, was allowed to join her husband. She was married by proxy in Montana last June to Alexei Semyonov, 25, who is Mrs. Bonner's son by a previous marriage.

Mr. Semyonov is a graduate student at Brandeis University near Boston.

### Plans to Return

Mrs. Bonner said that she planned to rejoin her husband before the holidays in Gorki where he was banished in January, 1980, after criticizing armed Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. "I have to buy a tree so we can celebrate the new year," she said, referring to the Soviet tradition of decorating a tree on Jan. 1.

She said that they had no information on the situation in Poland, but quoted her husband as saying: "Any movement that involves 10 million people should command the respect of the authorities," a clear reference to Poland's independent union Solidarity, which has nearly 10 million members.

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# New British Party Wins Hearts But Has a Problem of Identity

(Editor's note: When Shirley Williams won a seat in the British House of Commons last month, her victory sent shock waves through the solidly entrenched Labor and Conservative parties. In less than a year, Mrs. Williams and her fledgling Social Democratic Party have captured British hearts and headlines, and some newspapers have already suggested the possibility of her becoming the next prime minister. In this excerpt from *The New York Times Magazine*, R.W. Apple Jr., London bureau chief of *The Times*, explains how the new party has come so far so quickly, and assesses its chances of maintaining its extraordinary momentum.)

By R.W. Apple Jr.

New York Times Service

LONDON — It may have seemed an unlikely place to launch a revolution, and David Owen and his guests — three middle-aged, middle-class moderates like himself — certainly seemed unlikely revolutionaries.

But the goal the four politicians set themselves on Jan. 23, 1981, at Mr. Owen's row house in the gritty Limehouse section of London's East End was revolutionary in its scope — the creation of a major new British political party, the first in 50 years, strong enough not only to end the half-century monopolization of power by the Labor and Conservative parties, but also to alter the very electoral system by which this country has chosen its political leadership for hundreds of years.

Less than 11 months later, the new Social Democratic Party has exceeded the wildest hopes of its founders. It has formed, with synergistic results, an alliance with the Liberal Party — the embattled remnant of the party of Gladstone and Lloyd George — which prior to the partnership had only grass-roots enthusiasm and an occasional electoral triumph to show for its decades of hard work.

In three successive by-elections — comparable to American off-year congressional elections as tests of national voter sentiment — the alliance has done far better than anyone expected, the climax coming last month with a victory at Crosby, near Liverpool, a seemingly impregnable Conservative stronghold.

The national public opinion polls show the Liberal-Social Democratic alliance to be the most popular political grouping in the country. Hardheaded politicians of other parties now readily concede that a victory for the alliance in the next general election, which will probably take place in the fall of 1983 or the spring of 1984, is entirely possible. Many of them think the Social Democrats and Liberals will at least hold the balance of power between the Tories and the Laborites.

Politicians and journalists in London, as in Washington, are notoriously cynical about the launching of new parties, and with good reason — it seldom accomplishes much. But the Social Democrats have been taken seriously from the very start, because the signers of the "Limehouse Declaration," as their January

statement came to be called, were no cranks from the fringes of politics. They were four of the best-known members of the Labor Party, all of them former Cabinet members, who had gradually come to the conclusion that they had to seek a new political home.

## Gang of Four

Labor had lurching to the left, adopting extreme economic policies, advocating withdrawal from the Common Market and moving toward commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament. The Conservative Party, which in other days might have provided an alternative, had embarked on a right-wing economic crusade, with mass unemployment as the principal early result.

So the "Gang of Four," as the newspapers dubbed them, took the painful and perilous step of striking out on their own, hoping to recreate in the new party those elements of the Labor Party that had originally attracted them to politics.

They were a heterogeneous lot, but they agreed that abroad, Britain had to maintain membership in the Common Market and the Atlantic alliance; at home, some means had to be found to restrain wages, and governments had to stop promising the moon; and that within their new party, rank-and-file members had to have a considerable voice in its affairs.

Roy Jenkins, 61, had served ably as home secretary and chancellor of the exchequer in the 1960s and 1970s, but he had turned his back on domestic affairs in 1977 to take a \$125,000-a-year job as president of the European Economic Community, based in Brussels. He had been written off by most people in British politics.

But Roy Jenkins had not lost his appetite for politics in the gastronomic palaces of Belgium, and he clung to the belief that he might yet be prime minister. In 1979, knowing that he would never make it as a member of the Labor Party, and disgusted in any event with what he considered the party's extremism, he broached the idea of a new party.

William Rodgers, 53, was the least known of the four, but he had a reputation among insiders as a talented organizer and administrator. He had been a follower of Mr. Jenkins for nearly two decades and had served as a defense minister and as transport minister.

Shirley Williams, 51, was quite simply the best-liked woman in British politics. Daughter of Vera Brittain, a prominent writer, pacifist and feminist during the period between the two world wars, Mrs. Williams was a woman whose undoubted intellectual gifts were combined with a natural warmth and sincerity. Often disheveled, often late for appointments, she held two Cabinet posts — education and social services — in the late 1970s. When she lost her parliamentary seat in the London suburbs to the Tory sweep in the 1979 general election, all of political Britain was shocked, and Conservative ministers said publicly that they deeply regretted her defeat.

David Owen, 43, was the youngest of the four. A neurologist before he entered politics, he had been elected to Parliament at 28 and had been named a defense minister at 36. Two years later he was foreign secretary.

Within a month after the four joined forces, the new party had received 80,000 letters and contributions totaling more than \$350,000 — an astonishing amount in Britain, where political parties customarily raise and spend very little. On March 26 the party was formally launched with a burst of media hype more American than British.

Then, in October, a three-time Liberal loser named William Pitt managed to win as the alliance's candidate at Croydon, in the suburban belt south of London. And Shirley Williams staged a triumphant return to the House of Commons by winning at Crosby in an election Nov. 26 that suggested that no seat in the country is unwinnable for the alliance.

Now there are 27 Social Democrats in the House of Commons — 25 elected as Labor members who subsequently defected, one former Conservative, and Mrs. Williams.

How to explain the new party's extraordinary success? In retrospect, Bill Rodgers thinks that he and his colleagues had overestimated the difficulties facing them: "All we had to do," he said during a recent talk, "was push gently on the door, and it flew open." He and many others believe that the electorate has finally got tired of what he called the "boom-bust" system of politics, in which each party over-promises in order to win elections, then fails to deliver, particularly in the economic field.

It appears, in fact, that British political history has arrived at a potential turning point because British economic history has entered a crisis, and this has given the Social Democrats a chance comparable to that presented to Labor by the economic crises following World War I. Christopher Patten, one of the brightest of the young Tories, says that "a major consequence of economic decline is that the electorate tends to become uncoupled from the existing parties, identifying them with the country's failure."

## Immediate Problems

The next general election is probably at least two years away, and there are some immediate problems for the Social Democrats to settle. They still have no constitution and no leader. They are still faced with the complex task of deciding which constituencies will be contested by their own party's candidates and which by their Liberal allies.

But the main question that must be settled is precisely what kind of party the Social Democrats intend to be — an innovative left-of-center party challenging Labor (as Mr. Owen and, to a lesser degree, Mrs. Williams would have it), or a centrist party, probably more of a threat to the Tory vote (as Mr. Jenkins and Mr. Rodgers seem to believe more profitably).



Announcing at a press conference last March the formation of a new British political group, the Social Democratic Party, were the founders, the so-called "Gang of Four" — from left, Roy Jenkins, David Owen, William Rodgers and Shirley Williams.

United Press International

anything but catastrophe written on the walls in large Greek letters."

An underlying problem for the Social Democrats, which will become more visible as time goes on, is its lack of identification with any class or interest. Social Democrat adherents must be won — and held — one at a time, whereas Labor can expect the automatic allegiance of a certain number of working people, and the Conservatives can expect the routine support of most of the more prosperous members of society. "We are trying to create a power base," Mrs. Williams says.

At a guess, the Social Democrats will be able to maintain their momentum for about a year without answering the tough questions. But sometime next fall, and perhaps sooner, the leaders of the Labor and Conservative parties will come to see that what they need to do is not satisfy their own vanity or appease the activists but start trying to win the election that will then be at most 18 months away. At that point, the crunch will come.

## Identification Lacking

Chris Patten, the Conservative who represents Bath in the House of Commons, fears for his own seat and for the future of his party. "The Tory party," he commented, "has been in business for 200 years precisely because, although it has had moments, on the whole it has straddled the middle ground much more successfully than anyone else. We have abandoned that ground. As a result, it must be difficult for the most optimistic member of the Praetorian Guard at 10 Downing Street to see

anything but catastrophe written on the walls in large Greek letters."

United Press International

the British public. Party, it was the size of the turn-around, one of the biggest of the century. It was Mrs. Williams, who commands tremendous media attention. The day after the election, some newspapers were suggesting that she would be the next prime minister, and the former Tory prime minister Edward Heath went so far as to indicate he might, under some circumstances, agree to serve in a coalition government.

Voters' comments suggested an experimental mood. Valerie Fairbrother, 32, a housewife who had always voted Labor, said, "I wouldn't vote for Thatcher. She's robbery everybody.

Shirley Williams is going to do something for the public. She's more for the people, and I want to give them a chance." Michael Roberts, 18 and unemployed, said, "I couldn't vote Conservative, and the Labor Party is all over the place. So why not try something new? The SDP seems to be all the parties rolled into one."

If, as now seems inevitable, the next election is truly a three-way fight, it is virtually impossible to predict the outcome.

But the fact that a possible coalition government is under constant discussion in the corridors at Westminster, to say nothing of the newspapers and the headquarters of the parties, is testimony to the astonishing success of the Gang of Four in cracking and threatening to break the venerable mold of British politics.

# Repatriation of Chadian Refugees in Cameroon Poses Dilemma for UN Agency

By Iain Guest

International Herald Tribune

NDJAMENA, Chad — With his faded jeans and modish beard, Nick Russell hardly looked the part of a representative of this year's Nobel Peace Prize winner — the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees.

But nor did the scene he surveyed — a huge flotilla of tiny boats plying between the town of Kousseri in northeast Cameroon and the Chadian capital of N'djamena — look like the setting for one of the largest refugee crises in Africa.

The River Chari flows fast between Kousseri and N'djamena, testing the stamina of gondoliers who strain in their dugout canoes against the current. They carried traders long before the French arrived in 1900 and rewrote the map of West Africa. They continue after Chad's independence in 1960, and they continue today. It's a timeless scene, African in mood and color.

Nonetheless there are clear signs of the psychological gulf between Chad and Cameroon. On the Kousseri side yellow taxis wait impatiently, their owners ready to haggle for outrageous fees, and confident of getting them because the civil strife in Chad has brought Kousseri newfound wealth.

On the other side, in Chad, the once graceful city of N'djamena bears the scars of fighting that tore the capital apart last December. Two dilapidated sheds serve as customs and immigration posts. Behind them rise the remains of the former hospital and presidential palace — their walls pockmarked and blistered by bullets.

## Agency in Action

Chugging across the river is a further indication of something unusual. It is, as Mr. Russell (who oversees its arrival and departure) readily described it, "more a contraption than a boat." But every day for the last eight weeks it has been performing a valuable service, making its way crabwise across the river from Kousseri to N'djamena, carrying a truck crammed with returning Chadian refugees.

Ever since the Libyan tanks rumbled into N'djamena a year ago, Chad has been a major preoccupation of the UN refugee agency. About 100,000 Chadians fled to Nigeria, Sudan and the Central African Republic. About 110,000 took the quickest and most direct route to safety — across the river to Kousseri, where they were grouped into one of the world's largest refugee camps.

## Little Glamour Left

Last week's Nobel ceremony in Oslo provoked none of the joy or outrage that followed when the award went to Mother Teresa or to the Soviet dissident scientist Andrei D. Sakharov. Partly this was because it went to an institution, not an individual; partly, too, because the mood is subdued at the UN agency headquarters in Geneva, where its senior management has come under severe criticism in recent months for its inability to handle the rapidly expanding budget, this year, \$460 million.

But mainly there is a feeling that refugee work has lost whatever glamour it had in 1951, when the UN High Commissioner for Refugees was established. The agency is finding it increasingly difficult to fulfill its legal role and define what is meant by a refugee — something that was straightforward in the aftermath of World War II.

At the same time, it has to act as interlocutor between antagonistic governments. It has also become the dispenser of millions of dollars of aid, without being an operational agency. Often its mandate, to provide "emergency" assistance, merges disconcertingly with the development aid given out by other UN bodies.

Last, but not least, it is coming under pressure to solve refugee crises instead of indefinitely supplying camps.

Nowhere are these problems converge as they do in Africa and Chad.

Africa's 5 million refugees have not received the publicity of the Vietnamese boat people, but their plight is considered at least as precarious. Western immigration laws and the problems of cultural assimilation mean that the option of third-country resettlement is not available for Africa. So the refugees tend to waste away in camps, placing additional strain on some of the world's poorest countries.

## Case Without Precedent

This points to the need to repatriate refugees as soon as possible. "Our programs should always be trying to commit suicide," said Leslie Goodeve, who coordinates the commission's Chadian program.

There have been few successful repatriation programs in Africa. Refugees returned home after the end of civil wars in Algeria, Sudan and Zimbabwe. But in each case, repatriation followed rather than anticipated a political settlement, and the role of the UN agency was essentially passive.

Chad has been different. The agency began negotiations with President Goukouni Oueddeï's shaky government earlier this year, after Mr. Goukouni requested help — well aware that repatriation would improve his credibility.

The first thing was to get Chad to ratify the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention on Refugees, the second to assure that returning refugees would not be attacked.

A general amnesty was proclaimed and 17 political prisoners released. A tripartite commission was set up among Chad, Cameroon and the refugee agency. The repatriation began Oct. 1, and an estimated 55,000 Chadians have since been shipped back across the river.

In many refugee crises the refugee agency was accused of being too passive. But in Chad the opposite might be true. When repatriation started, food distribution was halted on the Kousseri side and restarted in N'djamena.

Blaise Cherif, the agency's 35-year-old Senegalese head of mission in N'djamena, insisted that the refugees were under no real pressure to continue distribution in Kousseri. But officials do concede that the line between "encouragement" and "pressure" is a thin one.

There was also additional prodding from the government of Cameroon. Kousseri's rich landlords and merchants have gained handsomely from the presence of the refugee camp and the influx of UN officials, but for most of Kousseri's population any benefits have long since been outweighed by soaring inflation and the danger that Chad's hostilities will spill over again.

Townspeople still recall how bullet-ridden on Kousseri's tin roofs during the fighting last December and how 80 Camerounians were killed by stray bullets.

The Cameroun government has offered a site for Chadians not wanting to return, while hoping there will be few volunteers. The site, at Pala, is 600 kilometers (370 miles) inland, far from the refugees' traditional lines of communication with N'djamena and tribal connections.

## What Is a Refugee?

Negotiations with the governments of Cameroon and Nigeria have brought the refugee agency into what is perhaps a complex area — the definition of a refugee. The concept rests, at present, on a 1951 convention that was drawn up after World War II. It covered individual families fleeing religious or political persecution.

The definition was subsequently expanded in 1969 at the Organization of African Unity convention, which recognized a fear of "civil disturbance" as sufficient motive for fleeing. But a number of observers feel that international law has not kept pace with today's refugee crises, which involve masses of people fleeing across what are often artificial frontiers and for reasons that are usually impossible to pinpoint.

In Africa, these include drought and the chronic political instability that has plagued Chad ever since independence in 1960.

Many younger officials in the UN agency hope that the high commissioner, Poul Hartling, will use the prestige of the Nobel award to liberalize the definition and update the 1951 convention.

But this runs into opposition from some of the agency's major Western donors, particularly the United States, whose policy of sending back Salvadorans and Haitians has provoked strong protests from the refugee organization. "There is a feeling that whenever a country does not want to give asylum — for whatever reason — it calls them economic migrants," said a worried agency official.

This is now being heard from Nigeria and Cameroon.

## Fear of Returning

So far, more than 60,000 Chadians are in Cameroon, and all but 500 of the 9,000 registered in Nigeria have chosen to remain there. But although many clearly do feel that anything is preferable to the economic chaos in N'djamena, most appear bewildered and uncertain — fearful of submitting their families to the ordeal of returning until Chad's political crisis is resolved.

Agency officials, for their part, have yet to

find a practical and fair way of distinguishing migrants from refugees after they have fled. Perhaps the most serious charge that can be leveled against the UN agency's repatriation program is that it was premature and irresponsible to encourage people to return to a situation as fluid as Chad's.

Officials say that the situation was relatively stable when the program began, and that 83,000 Chadians had gone back spontaneously. But they concede that Chad's immediate future looks less than settled after a bewildering and fast moving month and that, therefore, food distribution will be renewed in Kousseri shortly, prompting an angry charge from President Goukouni that this will "sabotage" the repatriation program.

Observers of Chad's civil war feel that the country is moving rapidly toward a confrontation between its two dominant politicians, President Goukouni and his former defense minister and arch rival, Hissene Habré. About a month ago, Mr. Goukouni was thought to be in the ascendant, having won the withdrawal of the Libyans. Since then he has been weakened by the failure of OAU peacekeeping forces to arrive promptly.

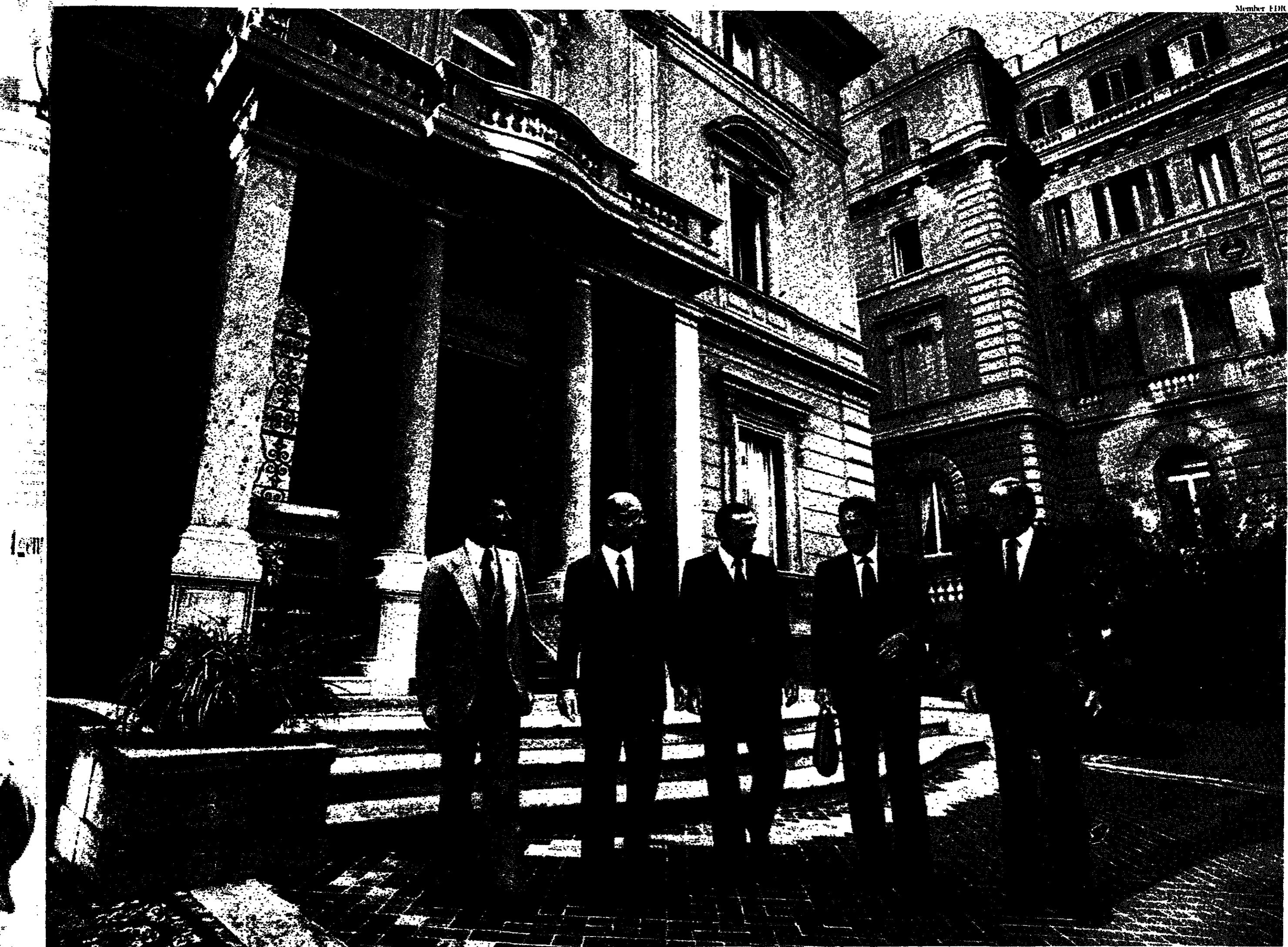
Recently, five of the six states that have agreed to furnish troops for the force met in Nairobi and decided that the remainder of the troops would be in place this week. But they are also reported to have decided not to participate in any renewed fighting, or to try to west, toward the eastern towns, including Abéché, that were captured by Mr. Habré's troops immediately after the Libyan withdrawal.

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At the tiny wharf where the returning refugees land, customs officials used to collect 900 million francs (about

J. P. Morgan

# How advice from Morgan can maximize profit potential on large import projects



Morgan bankers meet in Rome with officials of Mediocredito Centrale, Italy's export-credit institution, to negotiate for a corporate sponsor of a large project involving imports from Italy. From left, Rome office head Stefano Balsamo; Dr. Giovan Piero Elia and Dr. Rodolfo Balsamo, general manager and chairman respectively of Mediocredito; George Cashman, Multisource Export Credit Group head, New York; John Wilkie, general manager, Milan.

New telecommunications installations. Cement plants. Hydroelectric power stations. Coal mines.

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The Morgan Bank gives you an experienced team of experts who specialize in helping clients arrange the best possible long-term financing for imports on big projects. These specialists, located in New York and in Morgan offices around the world,

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When Morgan is your advisor we:

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- prepare applications to the appropriate export-assistance agencies;

negotiate terms and conditions to minimize your costs.

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## The Morgan Bank

## Two British Musicals: 'Lady' Left In the Dark, but 'Gypsy' Enchants

By Sheridan Morley

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Two major American musicals are alive again and living in the British regional theaters as Christmas treats. Leicester has Julie Styne and Stephen Sondheim's "Gypsy" while Nottingham has "Lady in the Dark," the European premiere of the musical that was written 40 years ago for Gertrude Lawrence by the historic team of Moss Hart (book), Ira Gershwin (lyrics) and Kurt Weill (music).

Why "Lady in the Dark" should have taken four decades to get across the Atlantic becomes clear once you get a chance to look at it, but for that chance we owe some gratitude to Crispin Thaw, a resident director at Nottingham who, on a limited budget and within barely a month, not only got the show staged but edited Celeste Holm over to play its leading role.

Suitably enough it was Holm who once took over from Lawrence in "The King and I," and though the two ladies had not a lot in common, there is a further irony in the fact that it was Holm's first great success (she was Ado Annie in "Oklahoma!") that virtually prevented the transport of "Lady in the Dark" outside the United States until now. For 1940, "Lady in the Dark" was considered a revolutionary musical, if only because the musical numbers genuinely arose out of the text, being set-piece dream sequences fantasized by the leading lady while on a psychiatrist's couch. But three years later came "Oklahoma!" and by the war's end the "Lady" was beginning to look her age.

Today it positively creaks with senility and the show seems to me to belong in the history books rather than on the stage. With the exception of a final trio of winning numbers ("Tchaikovsky," "Jenny" and "My Ship") which occupy 20 minutes of a 2½-hour show, the score is the most unremarkable Weill ever wrote. There is a sense all through it that he was wishing he'd never left Brecht for Broadway, and Ira Gershwin's lyrics seem to have sunk to that level of mild despair. Meanwhile Moss Hart (who began the whole affair by going to visit a psychiatrist in order to rid himself of the influence of George Kaufman, thereby losing one collaborator only to acquire two others) wrote a book that barely lends itself to songs except when enclosed by some distinctly tacky dreams.

How then to explain the original magic of a show that gave Lawrence the greatest of her Broadway successes, which made stars of two unknowns in the cast (Danny Kaye and Victor Mature) and ran virtually throughout the war in New York and on the road? Did the war create a special kind of theater-going audience, and if it did what precisely in this eccentric saga of a magazine editor coming lengthily to terms with her own personality could have especially appealed to them? Certainly Lawrence was possessed of

considerable magic, and a first sighting of Danny Kaye must have been joyous in the irrelevant but joyful recall of composed names that is "Tchaikovsky" still though he must be much better than Gershwin and Weill. Tom Lehrer went to write the score of "Oklahoma!" 15 years later. Was the American musical in the years immediately before "Oklahoma!" in such a decadent state that "Lady in the Dark" really seemed like a good idea? Did any of its three co-authors really even get together over the same desk or piano, and if so did they ever agree on the kind of show they were aiming to write?

I have no answer to any of these questions; I merely pose them in the belief that the success of "Lady in the Dark" was an accident of war, and that its place in the show business history books as a landmark musical needs to be drastically reconsidered.

Meanwhile the Haymarket Theatre in Leicester is offering a glossy revival of "Gypsy," one of the genuinely great Broadway musicals, since it combines in a single score the lush showbiz music of Styne and the acid anti-showbiz lyrics of Sondheim. As the formidable mother of June Havoc and Gypsy Rose Lee (the role originated on Broadway by Ethel Merman and in London by Angela Lansbury), the English TV soap-opera queen Noela Gordon has a certain difficulty capturing the essence of a vaudeville trouper, because the vaudeville tradition is as unknown over here as is pantomime in the United States. But as a show "Gypsy" remains pretty invulnerable, and in Roger Reedin's briskly efficient production Fiona Fullerton is an enchanting (if also over-English) Gypsy Rose Lee.

\* \* \*

Similar problems of the transatlantic crossing are better handled at London's Ambassador Theatre, where James Roose-Evans has devised and directed a faithful adaptation of the best-selling "In Charley's Cross Road" by Helene Hanff. Hanff is a little, middle-aged American lady whose claim to fame is that for 20 years she wrote, like Alistair Cooke, a series of letters from America, in her case to the staff of a secondhand bookshop.

The play (more of a dramatized recital) is, like the book, essentially a love story. Hanff was, when the letters start, an impoverished New York TV scriptwriter who could never quite raise the fare to London and, indeed, had Laker when existed we might to this day not have heard of her. As it was, she began to express her yearning to be in London along with her orders for books to make that city feel somehow closer, and the ultimate tragedy is that when she does finally make it across the Atlantic most of her pen friends and the shop itself are all but gone. Radiant performances by Rosemary Leach as Hanff and David Swift as her favorite salesman make this a Christmas treat for book lovers; somehow you feel the Ambassador box office should accept book tokens.



The Ming jar auctioned in London.

### Jar Fetches \$1.48 Million

By Sourou Melikian

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — An extraordinary jar in blue-and-white porcelain inscribed with the reign mark of Emperor Xuande (1426-35) was bought Tuesday by the Japanese dealer Tatsuo Hirano for \$792,000 including commission (about \$1,48,000), a world record for any Chinese work of art at auction.

The jar first surfaced two years ago in an exhibition of Chinese and Southeast Asian art at a Bangkok bank. Soon after, it was available for sale for about \$750,000 and was seen by several dealers. It is not known how the jar left Thailand.

The shape is one of the most powerful ever done by a Chinese potter. A dragon, body undulating and claws outstretched, is painted in blue enamel and shown floating in space surrounded by billowy stylized clouds.

A duel developed for the 51.7-centimeter-high Ming jar between two Japanese bidders from about £300,000 up — the collector S. Matsuoka and Hirano, believed by the dealing-collecting community to have been acting for the Idemitsu Foundation, which runs one of the finest private museums in Japan.

Similar competition took place over the two other star pieces, a tripod censer incense burner of the Song period, probably of the 12th century, knocked down at £115,500 to the Singapore collector Jack Chia, and a bronze ax of the 12th-11th century B.C. bought for £4,800 by the London dealer Giuseppe Esposito. The latter is as outstanding in its way as the jar and is probably worth considerably more.

## Théâtre Princesse Grace Will Open In Monte Carlo Today With Gala

By Thomas Quinn Curris

International Herald Tribune

MONTE CARLO — Monte Carlo has a new theater, the Théâtre Princesse Grace. In keeping with the principality's cosmopolitanism, it is to be a playhouse of all nations.

Its jewel-box auditorium is in blue and clear oak, with a chandelier of Murano glass. It seats 356 (280 in the orchestra and 76 in the mezzanine), while the stage is equipped to accommodate all the specimens of dramaturgy categorized by Polonius and some he forgot to mention.

Its program will include not only comedies, dramas and recitals, but operettas, ballets, marionette spectacles and concerts, both classical and jazz. Patrick Gourdequin is its administrator and Raymond Gérôme its artistic director.

### Multilingual Inauguration

The inaugural ceremonies today illustrate the international scope. Among those scheduled to participate in the gala will be the Italian actress Valentina Cortese, the British screen actor Dirk Bogarde and the French stage stars, Edwige Fenech and Gérôme. Excerpts from plays in three languages will be enacted between musical interludes.

Next Tuesday the theater will have its initial production, "Eh, Bonjour, M. de La Fontaine," drawing on the fables of the 17th-century author and staged by Mario Francesco. It will play a three-week engagement over the holidays and will be followed on Jan. 12 by "L'Age question," a new comedy by Françoise Dorin, with Jean Maré, and on Jan. 16 by "Le Journal d'une femme de chambre," an adaptation of the Octave Mirbeau novel, with Geneviève Fontenel, and on Feb. 4 with a marionette spectacle. Scheduled later are "L'Evangelie selon Saint Marc," spoken by Gérôme; Diderot's "Le Neveu de Rameau," with Julien Bertheau; the premiere of a new version of Labiche's "La séduction Monsieur"; a lecture by Jean-Louis

Barrau on the training of the actor; a chamber music concert, and a one-man show by the comedian Raymond Devos.

To represent the drama in English the works of two American playwrights are under consideration. The first is by Princess Grace's late husband, George Kelly. He was influenced in his choice by the success of his elder brother, Walter, who for many years delighted millions by telling the stories of "The Virginia Judge" in vaudeville. George Kelly made his start as an actor on the vaudeville circuit and was soon a headliner, then took up his pen to write one-act pieces himself. Several of these sketches he later developed into full-length plays.

His first comedy, "The Torchbearers," hilariously exposed the little theater groups then in vogue all over the country struggling to interpret plays beyond their historic capacities. But it was "The Show-Off," an enlargement of his vaudeville skit, "Poor Aubrey," that elevated Kelly into the first rank of American dramatists.

### Memorable Character

In "The Show-Off" he invented an irresistible comic figure: a fast-talking four-flusher who with glib gab invades a quiet, middle-class Philadelphia home, and with his confidence-man spiel sets everything topsy-turvy. With the obstreperous Aubrey Piper, Kelly added a memorable character to U.S. theatrical literature. "The Show-Off" was filmed in silent days with Ford Sterling as the faker and has been sent to the world, but the girl is to be sent to a clinic for the incurable. The scene of separation is charged with emotional dynamite, one of the finest feats of an author's dramaturgy. When the play was first staged in 1921 illness and death were taboo subjects in the commercial theater and its first and only appearance was a failure.

The Vienna production would come to Monte Carlo for a guest visit.

tion for a deep comprehension of feminine psychology and his talent for illuminating his knowledge in sharp dialogue. The praise pleased him, but he once explained to the actress Ira Claire the method of his research.

It was his practice to frequent tearooms and eavesdrop on the conversations of women at adjacent tables. "I learned more from that — and developed character from what I overheard than I ever did from anything a woman told me."

Kelly hated all personal publicity and so when invited to his niece's royal wedding he did not attend, though he was a beloved and admired relative. Instead he came to Monte Carlo later to visit her quietly.

### O'Neill Play Planned

The other American dramatist on the agenda of the Monaco theater is Eugene O'Neill, who won four Pulitzer Prizes and the Nobel Prize for literature.

The English Theater of Vienna intends to produce his little-known play "The Straw," inspired by an incident in his youth. In his celebrated tragedy, "Long Day's Journey Into Night," an autobiographical revelation, we have his self-portrait in the young man who, stricken with tuberculosis, is sent to a state clinic as his miserly actor father, haunted by the fear of poverty, refuses to finance more expensive medical treatment.

From his experience in the charity hospital O'Neill fashioned "The Straw," picturing the romance of two young patients. The young man is cured and goes back into the world, but the girl is to be sent to a clinic for the incurable. The scene of separation is charged with emotional dynamite, one of the finest feats of an author's dramaturgy. When the play was first staged in 1921 illness and death were taboo subjects in the commercial theater and its first and only appearance was a failure.

"The Vienna" production would come to Monte Carlo for a guest visit.

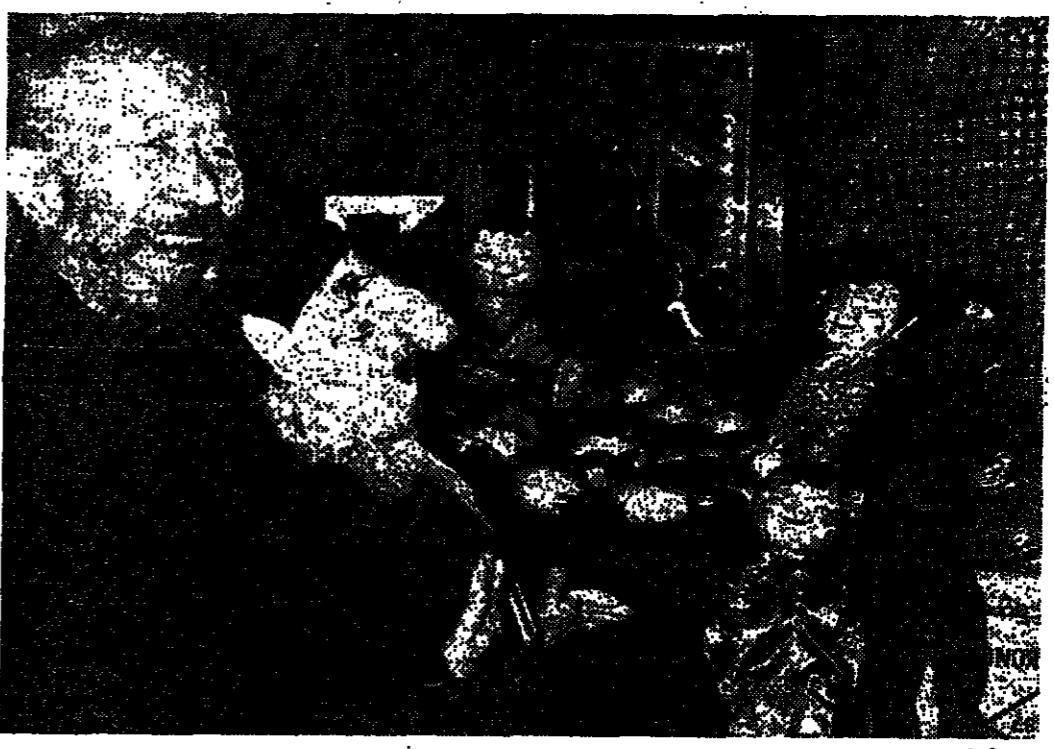
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Michael Lee, who turned his hobby into a livelihood when he left China, with some of his dolls. Joe Donny

## The Doll Maker of Hong Kong

By Hebe Dorsey

International Herald Tribune

HONG KONG — A metropolis also known as the world's largest exporter of toys, Hong Kong is also the home of a small business run from a decrepit fourth-floor walk-up just off Shanghai Street. Up there, lives Michael Lee and his so-called family, seven Chinese refugees. With books on Zen Buddhism next to a caged canary, empty tea cups, an old fashioned clock and sophisticated stereo equipment in the dimly lit flat, Lee and his working force are manufacturing dreams for children all over the world.

They make 200 dolls a month. A factory could make 200 an hour. "But then, they'd all be alike," Lee remarks. Born Lee Ming Yang in 1908 in central China, he was one of five sons of a naval officer. He became a physical exercise instructor in Shanghai, which he left in 1949, when the Communists took power. Lee went to Hong Kong, where life was hard

because he did not speak Cantonese. He did not know what to do with himself but remembered his hobby. He started making dolls again and a woman who owned a souvenir shop in the Imperial Hotel started selling them. Little by little, he became known and his dolls could be found in the best of Hong Kong stores.

Lee's creations are all rag dolls and they have something else in common. They all smile. He sees to that because he is the one who paints their faces on the same cheerful pink cloth that serves as a base. Occasionally, one of the children of one or the other persons in the community helps him with the painting.

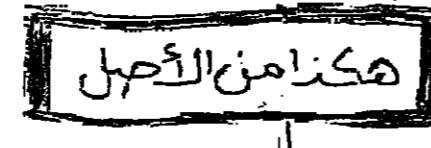
There are 14 different styles — seven Chinese and seven Western. His favorite, as well as his best seller, is a traditional Chinese woman carrying a child on her back. But he also has produced one resembling the mine Marcel Marceau, an American jogger and an Australian swamper, with the latter winning him an export award in 1976.

*l'essentiel.  
le commentaire.*



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## NYSE Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Dec. 16

Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.



## AMEX Nationwide Trading Closing Prices Dec. 16

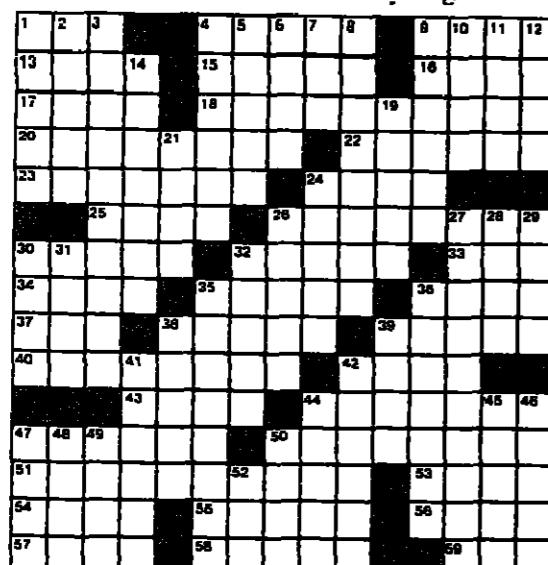
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## CROSSWORD

Edited by Eugene T. Maleska



## ACROSS

1 Nursery-rhyme name  
4 Nucleus of an action unit  
9 Citizen of Tallinn  
13 Protection  
15 Where Aristophanes could see his plays  
16 Virginia or challenge  
17 Jargon  
18 Machine used in construction  
20 Pay for extra work-hours  
22 Go— (deteriorate)  
23 One possibly on a pension  
24 Mexican's "Give way!"  
25 ... way in—  
26 Poet Jeffers  
30 Surround  
32 Leconte de—, French poet  
33 Curriculum vitae item  
34 N.T. book  
35 Camelshot  
36 "Guilty" or "not guilty"  
37 Article in every newspaper  
38 Affray  
39 Roadside cabins  
40 Escamilla, e.g.

42 This never clings to a rolling stone  
43 Camps  
44 Famous  
47 Explosive containing TNT  
50 Path for pedestrians  
51 Plumber, of a sort  
53 African tree  
54 Moslem V.I.P.  
55 Amy Carter, to Billy  
56 Master a primer  
57 Disown  
58 Stared with mouth open  
59 Hosp. group

14 Features of silvery stones  
19 The O'Grady  
21 Word following turkey  
24 Law enforcers in a western  
26 Tread support  
27 Dining-table object  
28 S-shaped molding  
29 Actress Patricia  
30 Cotton wadding  
31 Resound

32 "Symphonie espagnole" composer and family  
35 Inference  
36 Opposite of antebellum  
38 "— La Mancha"  
39 Additional  
41 Lunchroom  
42 King Arthur's evil nephew  
44 — de resistance  
45 City in SW N.Y.  
46 Timetables, for short  
47 Impersonated  
48 Marcel Marceau, for one  
49 Neat as—  
50 Chasse  
52 Esteban's aunt

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3 Vimner's important employee  
4 Imitated  
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9 Kinematograph developer  
10 Except one  
11 Tannenbaum, for one  
12 Kind of instinct

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7 Marathoner Allison  
8 Furniture item  
9 Kinematograph developer  
10 Except one  
11 Tannenbaum, for one  
12 Kind of instinct

14 Features of silvery stones  
19 The O'Grady  
21 Word following turkey  
24 Law enforcers in a western  
26 Tread support  
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48 Marcel Marceau, for one  
49 Neat as—  
50 Chasse  
52 Esteban's aunt

## WEATHER

	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW
ALGARVE	18	44	16	41
ALGIERS	25	77	16	41
AMSTERDAM	—	39	—	21
ANCONA	15	42	15	41
ATHENS	22	73	15	59
AUCKLAND	22	73	15	59
BANGKOK	86	48	18	44
BEIRUT	28	77	18	44
BERMUDA	4	21	16	20
BERLIN	25	77	16	20
BOSTON	—	39	—	22
BRUSSELS	—	25	—	19
BUCHAREST	—	25	—	19
BUTTER	—	25	—	19
BUENOS AIRES	25	77	14	57
CAIRO	25	77	15	57
CAPE TOWN	21	81	13	55
CANADA	25	77	15	59
CHICAGO	—	39	—	22
COPENHAGEN	—	19	—	12
COSTA DEL SOL	—	19	—	12
DAMASCUS	18	44	15	30
DUBLIN	—	39	—	24
EDINBURGH	—	39	—	24
FLORENCE	14	57	9	45
FRANKFURT	—	45	—	25
GENEVA	6	43	5	39
HELSINKI	18	44	11	39
HONG KONG	18	44	12	54
HOUSTON	19	44	4	39
ISTANBUL	18	44	15	41
JERUSALEM	18	44	15	41
LAS PALMAS	17	77	15	59
LIMA	25	77	18	44
LISBON	16	41	15	59
LONDON	24	75	—	30
LOS ANGELES	18	44	13	55

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

## ADVERTISEMENT

## INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

December 16, 1981

The net asset value quotations shown below are supplied by the Funds (with the exception of some funds whose quotes are based on issue prices). The following general symbols are indicated by the Funds (with the exception of some funds): (D) — daily; (W) — weekly; (M) — monthly; (Q) — quarterly; (I) — irregular.

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— (M) Allianz Int'l Inv. Fund, \$1.611  
— (Q) Allianz Inv. Fund, \$1.611  
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— (D) CST Fund, \$1.928  
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— (M) CST Fund, \$1.928  
— (Q) CST Fund, \$1.928

BANK OF SWITZERLAND, Zürich  
— (D) Unilands Fund, \$1.326  
— (W) Unilands Fund, \$1.326  
— (M) Unilands Fund, \$1.326  
— (Q) Unilands Fund, \$1.326  
— (I) Unilands Fund, \$1.326

OTHER FUNDS  
— (D) 1 Actions Suisses  
— (W) 1 Actions Suisses  
— (M) 1 C.S. Fonds Inv.  
— (Q) 1 C.S. Fonds Inv.  
— (I) 1 Used...  
— (D) Pacific-Vitol

DIT INVESTMENT FRANKFURT  
— (D) 1 Corporate...  
— (W) 1 Corporate...  
— (M) 1 High Interest Fund, \$1.611  
— (Q) 1 High Interest Fund, \$1.611  
— (I) 1 Corporate...  
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FIDELITY PO Box 370, Hamilton, Bermuda  
— (M) American Values Common, \$1.428  
— (M) American Values Cums, \$1.428  
— (M) American Values Inv., \$1.428  
— (D) Fidelity Australia Fund, \$3.931  
— (W) Fidelity Australia Fund, \$3.931  
— (M) Fidelity Inv. Fund, \$1.428  
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G.T. MANAGEMENT (UK) LTD  
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JARDINE FLEMING POB 7300, Hong Kong  
— (D) 1 P. J. Jordan Trust, \$1.243  
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— (M) 1 P. J. Pacific Inv. Fund, \$2.625  
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ROTHSCHILD ASSET MGMT. INC. (1):  
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## Still Tough, Still Loose, Joe Kapp's Back at Cal

By Jim Murray

*Los Angeles Times Service*  
LOS ANGELES — The University of California at Berkeley is an institution of higher learning full of Nobel laureates, published authors, social scientists, high court justices, first-rate educators and non-splitters. But its athletic image comes into focus as two guys in leotards chasing a swan, always getting trounced by those silly saps at OSU or UCLA.

Cal had two choices. It could, like the University of Chicago or the Los Angeles Rams, get out of football altogether. Or it could get at and hire the roughest, toughest, most macho coach it could find and try to climb out of its crinoline-and-old-lace image and get back to where it was when the Golden Bears were known as the "wonder teams."

Your first look at Joe Kapp, Cal's new coach, might make you think the Bears have gone too far. Kapp looks like something right off a pirate ship, a guy who could empty a waterfront bar in Mar-a-Lago. Kapp is tougher than a mackerel. Kapp is tougher than a walksteak.

First of all, there are the scars. One thing about Kapp: He never bothered to duck. His face has caught more things than an oldatcher's mitt.

His escapades are legend. One night he took on the queen of the Brooklyn Mafia in a fight over a slab in New York. He and a Minnesota brawcker once trashed a bar in a fight that began over who was to blame for a defeat: Kapp insisted he was and teammate Lon-

nie Warwick insisted he was. On a night when the tequila was cold and the beer foamed, Kapp would fight over anything. And you could always tell which one was Kapp — the one laughing.

He was the unprettiest athlete who ever handled a football, a quarterback whose passes sailed through the air like shot ducks.

Kapp had a better knuckleball than Hoyt Wilhelm. When Kapp rebounded someone he also played basketball once, the querying reporter was, "Tell me: How do you throw a basketball end over end?"

### Mixed Baggage

But however he did it, Kapp was a winner. When he came to Cal as an undergraduate, the team was 1-9. Two years later, it was in the Rose Bowl. The Bears were beaten, but Kapp remembers it as a moral victory. "I took my little group of doctors, lawyers, engineers, social workers and poets to the Rose Bowl and we held a professional team from the Big 10 to 38 points."

Still, the pros were not impressed. "They drafted me 280th," recalls Kapp. "They fell all over themselves drafting Randy Dunn of Iowa, John Brodie of Stanford and Lee Grosscup of Utah. They got around to me on the 17th round and sent a map of how to get to training camp."

So Kapp jumped to Canada, where the British Columbia Lions were not much better than Cal's Bears. But within three years, Kapp had them in the Grey Cup. And in the fourth year, they won.

Kapp came to the Minnesota Vikings when Coach Bud Grant did, in 1967. "The team was 3-3 the first year, 8-6 the second," Kapp says with pride. "And the third year we were 12-2 and went to the Super Bowl."

There are golfers with bad swings who keep shooting 68s, ballplayers with bad form who keep knocking in the winning runs, boxers who look bad but keep knocking guys out — and Kapp who kept throwing footballs like paper airplanes but once completed a National Football League record seven touchdown passes in one game.

At Cal, they're all excited about getting this guy back to campus to get the Bears out of a 12-year hibernation. For Kapp, the formula seems simple. Just scavenge the boozies and find 11 guys who:

- Take off on the wrong foot.
- Are slow.
- Are not afraid of a nosebleed.
- Are used to things not coming too easy.

• Drink from the bottle.

Get them, and Kapp can go to the Rose Bowl again. "I don't know how we're going to do it," he says. "But we're going to do it. That's the time-honored Kapp way of doing business."

If I were the rest of the Pac-10, I'd punt.

## THE FRONT PAGE

The International Herald Tribune

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## Disciplining Athletes: Corporal Punishment, Major Problems

By Neil Amdur

*New York Times Service*

NEW YORK — Sometime in the next few weeks, Dolores Vorhees and her son Tim will submit a proposal to New Jersey legislators to ban physical punishment drills in sports throughout the state.

"You have to try to make people aware and coaches too that it does not necessarily make a person tough by punishing them or doing something extra," Mrs. Vorhees said recently. "It kills them."

Four years ago last month, Bob Vorhees, a promising freshman football player at Virginia Polytechnic Institute, died after completing a series of punishment drills for a dormitory incident. An out-of-court settlement was reached between the family and school last August; one of the conditions bars physical punishment drills in VPI football practices.

Although the rate of deaths and catastrophic football injuries has dropped significantly in recent years, the delicate relationship between coach and athlete remains dogged by complex problems. Some of the year's more dramatic developments:

- Lambert Reed, head football coach at Morris Brown College in Atlanta, was suspended after striking one of his players across the back of his shoulder pads with an ax handle in the locker room in October. Reed has said his dream was to make Morris Brown "the black Notre Dame," a collegiate football power. A five-member investigating committee has been interviewing athletes, students and coaches and is expected to hand down its findings soon.

- A group of parents in Mobile, Ala. charged the football coach at Shaw High School with excessively long practices and punishment drills this fall that contributed to 41 minor injuries — seven consid-

ered moderate and five classified as major by the team's trainer. A county school system inquiry absolved the coach, Henry Hardy, but the leader of the parents' group termed the study's conclusions "a complete coverup."

• Lucas Mitchell, basketball coach at Norfolk State University, resigned Oct. 30 after four players had quit and all 12 team members

had written the university's administration charging Mitchell with "demeaning and inhumane treatment." The players said the treatment included having to sit in 30-degree temperature for four hours outside a locked gymnasium.

• Earlier this month the head soccer coach and two assistants at a Toms River (N.J.) high school were dismissed because they allowed seniors to physically abuse freshmen in a hazing rite. New Jersey state law prohibits hazing.

• Bill Raftery, who resigned last month as basketball coach at Seton Hall University after 10 seasons, suspended four players, including three starters, in January, 1980, for curfew violations. Discussing how athletes had changed, he recalled one player who approached him several years ago about starting ahead of a team-

mate.

"Did you tell him how you

felt?" Raftery said, asking the disgruntled athlete whether he had confronted his peer.

"No."

"Well, you tell him and then come back and see me."

Homesey is a shortcoming among today's athletes, Raftery says, and his assessment is shared by many coaches. Joe Mullane, who has coached basketball at the professional and collegiate level, says athletes who are treated royally in high school and on playgrounds believe they are better than they actually are. As a result, the inability to accept true talent evaluation puts the athlete in conflict with the coach and the coach in a "defensive position trying to defend his judgment."

The thin line between disciplining athletes and subjecting them to physical abuse has become one of the most controversial aspects of

the current coach-athlete crisis. Dr. James P. Knochel of the University of Texas Health Science Center said coaches who inflict exhaustive drills as a punishment for excessive drinking escapades risk serious injuries to the athletes.

"We've seen situations where

young athletes go out, play sports, drink, get hung over, don't eat regularly, come back to practice a day or two later and get injured in a 'workout,'" Knochel said. "If you starve the cell and then induce extreme amounts of exercise, it can induce injury and even stop the heart."

Asked how much coaches and athletic administrators were aware of this potentially dangerous syndrome, Knochel said, "probably not all."

The credibility of these studies was thought by a person with knowledge of the Vorhees case to be a major factor in VPI's choosing to settle with the family, even after a Virginia grand jury had reported no "neglect or wrongdoing" in the after-practice drill administered to Vorhees and later described as "routine" by Marvin Baker, then an assistant coach.

The drill went as follows:

Ten 50-yard sprints, with both the sprint and return to the starting line to be completed in 30 seconds. Fifty pushups. Fifty situps. Two 100-yard "bear crawls," in which the player skitters on his hands and feet without allowing his knees to touch the ground. Four other 100-yard runs.

This exercise came after Vorhees had practiced for several hours and had run 10 100-yard wind sprints at the end of the regular wind.

Parents and students at Overland High School in Aurora, Colo., remain divided over Milano's tactics for dealing with Warrington, a starting senior middle guard, who had broken training rules by hosting a post-game "beer party." Supporters say Milano risked losing the confidence of other team members if he had not disciplined Warrington. Opponents insist that

suspension or a verbal tongue-lashing would have been sufficient.

"I think he ought to be fired," said Jerry Warrington, the athlete's father. "I think others who allowed it to happen should also be fired."

According to Warrington, five days after the alleged training violation Milano ordered his son to run through a gauntlet of other players. In addition to his son being tackled by his teammates, Warrington contends Milano struck the boy on the face ("with the heel of both hands") and incited the team into abusing his son with such intensity that the bruises required treatment at a local hospital.

**Interview Declined**

Milano declined attempts to be interviewed by The New York Times. But in his civil complaint, filed Oct. 5, he claimed "the disciplinary exercise, while in some respects lacking in organization, was at all times under control, and while the use of the gauntlet drill involved physical contact, that contact was in no way different, in quality and quantity, from the physical contact routinely involved and legally allowed in the practice for and conduct of the game of football. Any contact between players beyond that normally involved or allowed was not directed, suggested, sanctioned or anticipated by plaintiff."

Dolores Vorhees said nobody watched her son Bob more than she and her late husband, Jerome, who, she felt, "grieved himself to death" in February, 1980, over the stressful events.

"This isn't unique, what happened to Bob," she said. "It happens to all over the country, and they cover it up. Something happens to the boy, the parents are poor, they are out of the parents and then it's all forgotten. But I can't forget."

"Now that the suit is settled, I want to hold meetings, talk to parents. Everybody tells me it's impossible to get legislation enacted, that I'll get no encouragement. I'm going to try."

## Guidry: \$1 Million a Year

*The Associated Press*

NEW YORK — Pitcher Ron Guidry, the No. 1 prize in baseball's 1981 free agent re-entry draft, has decided to stay with the New York Yankees for a contract that will pay him a reported \$1 million per year for the next four seasons.

The 31-year-old Guidry, who played out his option with the Yankees in 1981 season and tested the re-entry draft, Tuesday signed a contract that includes an option for a fifth year, which the Yankees can buy out for \$500,000.

### Bonus

The left-hander also is believed to have received a half-million dollar signing bonus.

Guidry was selected by 17 teams in last month's draft, but had maintained from the start that he wanted to remain in New York, where he has compiled an 87-34 career record in five full seasons.

Guidry has been the most successful pitcher in the American League over the last four years with 71 victories.

Only Steve Carlton of the Philadelphia Phillies has that many victories over that span.

### Yankee High

Guidry was 11-5 last season, pushing his career won-loss percentage to .719 — the best in Yankee history. In 1978, he was unanimous winner of the Cy Young Award when he posted a 25-3 record with a 1.74 earned run average.

That season stamped him as one of baseball's finest pitchers. He was working then at a bargain-basement salary of \$200,000.

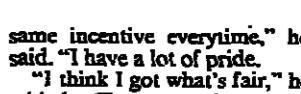
Guidry said his new contract would not alter his approach to pitching.

"Whether I make \$1 million or \$100,000, I go out with the same incentive everytime," he said. "I have a lot of pride."

"I think I got what's fair," he added. "I'm not ashamed of what I got."

"I think the Yankees wanted me as badly as I wanted them."

Ron Guidry  
... Still a Yankee



clinch the title Sunday with a victory in Chicago.

If the Jets lose, they can still go to the playoffs if San Diego (9-6) loses or ties Oakland Monday night.

**NFC Central:** No team other than Cincinnati will make the playoffs.

**EAST:** Denver (10-5) can

win the division with a wild-card berth, but only if the Jets lose.

**ACF:** Atlanta (10-5) can clinch the title Sunday with a victory in Chicago.

If the Jets lose, they can still go to the playoffs if San Diego (9-6) loses or ties Oakland Monday night.

**NFC West:** Atlanta (7-8) must defeat Cincinnati Sunday to stay in the playoffs.

**WC:** Miami (9-6) and Buffalo (10-5), both winners Sunday, are assured at least wild-card berths in the AFC, as is 9-6 Philadelphia in the NFC.

**MIDWEST:** Miami (10-4) and Buffalo (10-5), both winners Sunday, are assured at least wild-card berths in the AFC, as is 9-6 Philadelphia in the NFC.

**WEST:** Miami (10-4) and Buffalo (10-5), both winners Sunday, are assured at least wild-card berths in the AFC, as is 9-6 Philadelphia in the NFC.

**ALLENDE:** Atlanta (10-5) can clinch the title Sunday with a victory in Chicago.

If the Jets lose, they can still go to the playoffs if San Diego (9-6) loses or ties Oakland Monday night.

**WESTERN CONFERENCE:** No team other than Cincinnati will make the playoffs.

**ALBERTA:** Atlanta (10-5) can clinch the title Sunday with a victory in Chicago.

If the Jets lose, they can still go to the playoffs if San Diego (9-6) loses or ties Oakland Monday night.

**TEXAS:** Atlanta (10-5) can clinch the title Sunday with a victory in Chicago.

If the Jets lose, they can still go to the playoffs if San Diego (9-6) loses or ties Oakland Monday night.

**TEXAS:** Atlanta (10-5) can clinch the

